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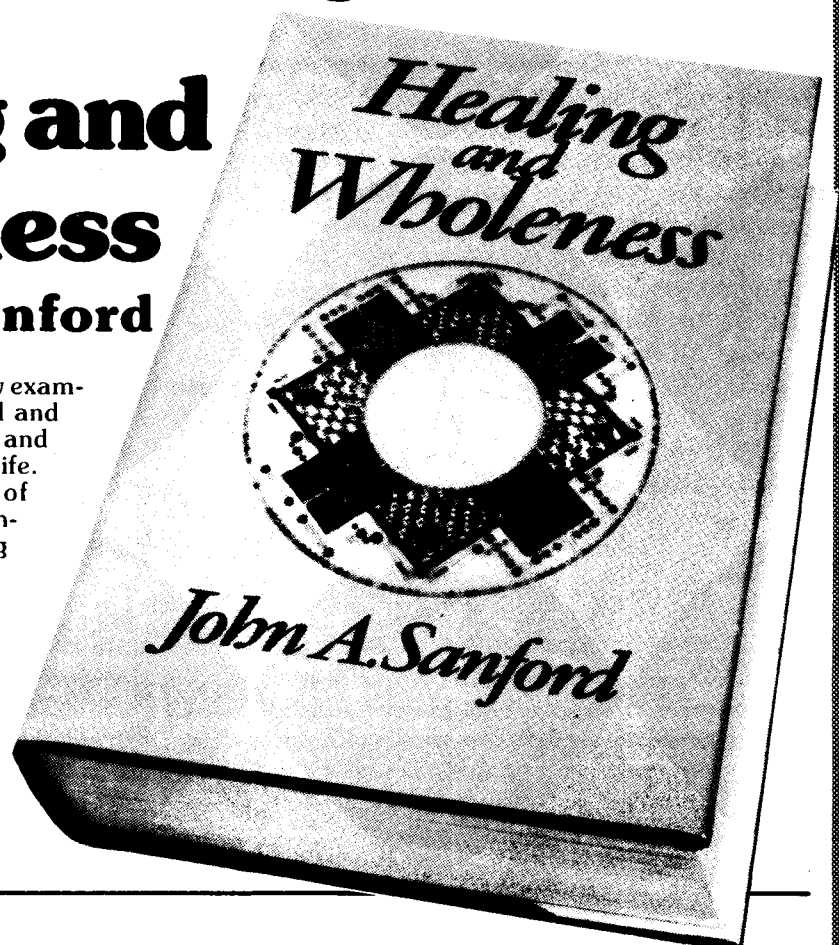

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NEWS & VIEWS

Human Life

Pro-abortion and anti-abortion groups lined up predictably at a recent public hearing in Pittsburgh on the question of Pennsylvania's support of a constitutional convention to adopt a human life amendment, and pronounced the predictable arguments pro and con.

There was one exception. Father Donald McIlvane, pastor of Corpus Christi parish in Pittsburgh's East End, broke with the mainline Catholic constituency and opposed the bill that would make Pennsylvania the tenth state to call for a constitutional convention over the abortion issue. Thirty-four must agree before a constitutional convention can be convened.

McIlvane, in the words of the *Pittsburgh Catholic*, caused a "stir," arguing that the bill and the projected procedure posed "a great risk to the fabric of our nation."

McIlvane separated himself from the pro-abortion majority at the hearing, and said that he was in favor of a human life amendment —but one "that goes through the normal process of passage by the Congress and then by the required number of states."

This is not the time for a constitutional convention to be called, said McIlvane. "Someone has to step back and take a look" at this nation.

He cited low voter participation, racial problems, lack of confidence in elected leaders and trouble throughout many western nations, like Canada, as evidence that a constitutional convention at this time "could threaten our democracy as we know it."

"My fear is of a runaway convention," McIlvane told the hearing assembly. "I fear what such a convention might do to the Bill of Rights, to the rights of minorities, to religious freedom."

McIlvane told those who want a human life amendment that they should intensify their efforts in Congress. "Ten years is not too long to bring about a major reform of this type," he remarked to murmurs of dissent from "pro-lifers" in attendance.

"The Supreme Court decision of 1973 did not happen overnight, but after a long effort. It will be modified or overturned only after a similarly long effort."

McIlvane is an activist priest known widely in Western Pennsylvania. He was one of the participants in *Commonweal*'s 1968 symposium on "The Troubled Priest."

Gay Rights

The Bishop of Memphis lived up to his reputation as a provocative prelate on a local television talk show, condemning property as a major cause of human-rights denials; allowing it was "conceivable" that women will one day be ordained into the Catholic priesthood; and backing the civil rights of homosexuals.

On the latter issue, Bishop Carroll T. Dozier said: "It's a human rights problem and it's one that the community at large must face. All that the gay community, as I understand it, is asking are the things we recognize as people—that they (gays) have a personality, a humanhood that is necessary to be recognized in the community. And I see nothing that is wrong in their position."

"They have a right to the dignity of a human person."

Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum of the American Jewish Committee, sitting on the same panel, said that he shared "the bishop's conviction about the obligation to assure the civil rights of homosexuals as well as all other people."

However, he noted that "in authentic, normative Jewish tradition, homosexuality is frowned upon and in fact the Bible itself calls it an abomination." He expressed an opposition to the possibility that homosexuality "would become a norm for society and you can look forward to the end of family life."

Bishop Dozier countered: "You're really over-playing what is the ordinary sense of sin into a more general right and that therefore does cause confusion."

Disabled Persons

The Bulletin of the Council on Interracial Books for Children has zeroed in on another stereotype in children's literature: the negative portrayal of disabled persons.

Not *handicapped* persons, be it noted. The Council on Interracial Books finds the term "handicapped" offensive by way of derivation. The term comes, it says, from the image of beggars sitting in the street, "cap in hand."

(Eric Patridge's etymological dictionary traces the word to an old sport characterized by forfeit money hand-held in a cap—whence the notion of disadvantage. But no difference. . . .)

What the Council would like to see routed is the tendency to depict the disabled person, among other things, as pitiable and pathetic . . . sinister and/or evil . . . an object of violence . . . laughable . . . non-sexual . . . incapable of fully participating in everyday life . . . a burden . . . or one redeemed by some compensatory quality, like magical ability.

Its sampling of "stereotypes" was drawn from a survey of classic and contemporary literature.

The Council also finds offensive such words as "retard, retardate, idiot, imbecile and feeble minded," and offers in their stead "retarded, mental impairment and mentally disabled."

Instead of "cripple" or "crippled," the Council suggests orthopedic disability, mobility impairment and disabled person.

Editors and writers are asked to portray disabled persons as individuals "interacting as equals and giving as well as receiving."

The 39-page Bulletin is available from the Council on Interracial Books for Children, 1841 Broadway, New York, N.Y., 10023. Cost of the issue is $3.

Odds and Ends

—Felix G. Rohatyn, chairman of the Municipal Assistance Corporation, predicted recently that new New York Mayor Edward Koch would be the "Joan of Arc of this city." Reminded that Joan of Arc was burned at the stake, the agile Mr. Rohatyn responded, "Yes, but she saved France."

—The *New York Times* reports that Trinity College in Hartford has given up on its elms and is replacing them with ash trees. Which makes one wonder what becomes of the college alma mater, *'Neath the Elms*. Surely not *'Neath the Ashes*. Deadly.

—Finally, if you want a sample of how environmental issues can be travestied, note *Times*man Boyce Rensberger's observation that India's ban on the export of rhesus monkeys poses a threat to the species' survival. "So long as the rhesus monkey was worth money, somebody had a stake in ensuring that viable populations survived," Rensberger wrote. The elephant, in other words, can rest easy because merchants lust for their ivory tusks. Don't you believe it. JOHN DEEDY

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CORRESPONDENCE

Age-Old Prejudices

Wellesley, Mass.

To the Editors: How is it possible that such an enlightened magazine as *Commonweal* still innocently uses the patriarchal language of a bygone era? To see "God Becomes Man" and "Man Becomes God" as your Christmas lead stories leads me to wonder whether you assume, after all, that salvation is only for men.

Nor is it possible anymore to blithely refer to some alleged "generic meaning" of "man." The discussion of that issue, as far as I can see, is over. If language is an identity-forming agency of the human consciousness, as most people now believe it is, then the so-called "generic" simply reinforces age-old prejudices in all of us.

To say "God Become *Man*" and "*Man* Becomes God" is, in fact, either nonsense or heresy. Neither one is worth the ink in your pages.

H. PAUL SANTMIRE
Chaplain and Lecturer in Religion
Wellesley College

John McNeill

Washington, D.C.

To the Editors: Thank you for Daniel Berrigan's "The Leveling of John McNeill" [Dec. 9]. It gives hope. All our stories and all our symbols, I am certain, are intended to awaken in each of us the kind of "religious individual" Kierkegaard and Father Berrigan describe. That they have been subverted to do the very opposite is the one real perversity alive in our church. May we all repent.

MELISSA KAY

Washington, D.C.

To the Editors: Thank you for giving us "The Leveling of John McNeill" [Dec. 9] and for enlisting the passionate, discerning and eloquent gifts of Daniel Berrigan to do it.

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THE PENNSYLVANIA ISSUE

If there was one basic issue that allowed Jimmy Carter to barely slip by Gerald Ford into the presidency it was not the economy, energy, civil rights, the Middle East, ethnicity, abortion, arms control, or the Panama Canal. It was justice. In spite of Ford's reputation for personal honesty, the smell from the previous regime—probably the most corrupt in American history—lingered on.

Carter knew this. So he presented himself not just as an honest politician but as a secular-religious instrument of the nation's spiritual regeneration. He would restore us to our original goodness and decency. He would not lie. Not everyone believed him. But enough did. He won.

With this in mind, the state of the Justice Department, in the midst of its crisis over the firing of Philadelphia U.S. Attorney David W. Marston, who had successfully prosecuted some leading Democrats and was breathing down the neck of a congressman, is a fair measure of the state of the Carter administration.

Unfortunately, Carter has handled the Marston case the same way he handled the Bert Lance affair. First, he too easily compromised the high, but not unreasonably idealistic, promises of his campaign: to bring the "best," most "competent" people into his administration; and that "all federal judges and prosecutors should be appointed strictly on the basis of merit without consideration of political aspects or influence." Second, caught in a mistake where his personal judgment is questioned, rather than clear the boards by simply admitting a relatively minor error, he has slithered and weaseled around, confidently issuing clarifications and contradictions as if nothing had ever been wrong in the first place. Thus,

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sadly, the President who at one moment of a press conference discusses becoming a Christian missionary when his term is over, at another moment seems just another slippery politician. Meanwhile, his Attorney General Griffin Bell can offer no more convincing justification for Marston's dismissal—following a phone call to Carter from the threatened congressman—than that this was "our system."

Too bad. And so unnecessary. For Pennsylvania, considered along with Maryland and New Jersey as one of the three most corrupt states in the country, could have become—and conceivably still could become—a showcase of what the Justice Department, working against crime in a bipartisan and non-political way, could accomplish. Indeed, the very "system" to which Judge Bell bows, of allowing local party politicians a say on who will prosecute them for their federal crimes, has made Marston the fourth prosecutor in the state in the last five years to lose his job when his investigations were getting hot, leading Samuel Dash, former counsel to the Senate Watergate committee and Marston's possible successor, to echo Lincoln Steffens' judgment that Philadelphia's government was simply the "most corrupt and most contented."

Maybe Carter did think he was only being properly responsive to an influential patronage-hungry congressman when he returned Joshua Eilberg's phone call of November 4. Perhaps he was thinking of the importance of Pennsylvania to the Democratic party. Ironically, he has thrown gasoline rather than water on a fire that will blaze hotter every month. Marston may run for mayor of Philadelphia and rid us of the disreputable Frank Rizzo, whose lieutenants he has already prosecuted. Carter's former Deputy Attorney General and former Pittsburgh mayor Peter Flaherty, who argued against firing Marston before he left the Justice Department, is running for governor and will have to continually repudiate Carter on this issue during his campaign. The press and Justice Department itself will keep the Pennsylvania issue alive in independent investigations of both Eilberg and his colorful congressional cohort, "Dapper" Daniel Flood, reportedly a secret agent for Haitian President Jean-Claude Duvalier. Outside pressure for reform will increase. In its newsletter, *Justice Department Watch*, the independent civil liberties organization, the Committee for Public Justice, has called the Department's self-policing arm, the Office of Professional Responsibility, a "toothless watchdog" and, in a press release, has termed the Office's exoneration of Carter and Bell in the Marston case "premature and irresponsible."

The stubborn President Carter must learn to be more stubborn when he is right—in promising to take the administration of justice out of politics—and less stubborn when he is wrong. Otherwise the voters will make him a missionary sooner than he intends.

WASHINGTON REPORT

THE MORE IT CHANGES

"What is our party anyhow?" asked Jack Wintergreen, just before he accepted its nomination for the presidency in the mythical year 1932. "Well," said Committeeman Francis X. Gilhooley, "in the South we're the Democrats and in the North we're the Republicans." "I see," said Wintergreen, which is more than a lot of people were able to do then, are able to do now. Yet, Gilhooley was demonstrably right then, continues correct despite marginal changes.

The State of the Union and the Budget have slipped into Congress and consciousness without arousing either violent opposition or enthusiastic support. The issues, if so they can be called, that stir up the most expressive and/or support these days are Abortion for the Poor and the Panama Canal.

Neither issue really has much to do with things that are affecting and will affect all of us in our daily lives, our annual tallying of accounts, our hopes and dreams. There, the world of Francis X. Gilhooley imposes itself. Our affairs are managed by Democrats passing themselves off as Republicans, and vice versa. Which is why nothing much gets done in either direction: we do not become the Ronald Reagan-John Wayne ruggedly individual state, leaving those who can't keep up to die along the trail, nor yet the socially ameliorative state of Michael Harrington, or Izzy Stone.

Instead, we stand still, dead on center. Carter's presumably Democratic budget has had no serious opposition from Republicans, and there is no apparent reason why it should. In this, Carter is in the central tradition of recent Presidents.

Franklin D. Roosevelt, for all that he was decried and denounced by all those members of the Union League Club who used to troop down to the Trans-Lux to boo him, nevertheless all but single-handedly saved capitalism in America. If, by some not quite imaginable process, Hoover could have been re-elected in 1932, he probably would have been too self-conscious to hand the capitalists any more than they had already stolen, would instead have become the great social engineer his life prepared him to be, a socialist by any other name.

John F. Kennedy, the first Roman Catholic President, was also the first President able to make a firm stand against official Roman Catholic efforts to nuzzle their

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way into the trough of public education funds.

Richard M. Nixon, whose whole career, his very being, one would have thought, sprang from an uncompromising rock-headed anti-Communism, was uniquely able to make openings toward Communist China and Communist Russia. True, this was partly because any other American President making such openings would have had Richard Nixon calling him a Commie. Still, Nixon did do it, and he didn't have to; there was nothing in his history to call for rational statesmanship on this or any other issue.

They keep turning on themselves, or perhaps taking their basic support for granted and reaching out toward the opposition. If the opposition had a brain in its head—any opposition—it would abandon its own party, support its opposition on the grounds that the opposition would be more likely to carry out legislation, administrative action, whatever, than one's own party, since one's own would naturally incline toward its own opposition.

The Carter administration searches for means to inspire "business confidence," much as the early Kennedy administration searched for its "mandate." Given the facts of Kennedy's election, the mandate should have been for improved living conditions in the graveyards of Cook County, Illinois, where his winning plurality emerged like Dracula in the dark of the moon. Granted the overwhelming support the business community gave to Gerald Ford, as it had previously given the same support to his creator, the infamous Nixon, the question of "business confidence" ought to be why anyone should have any political confidence in business, not how to evoke the confidence of the business community in any aspect of the political process that community clearly neither understands nor approves of.

Another example of this curious kind of attraction of opposites is the recent flutter of interest in higher Republican circles in capturing the black votes. Rev. Jesse Jackson, who has grown into—or perhaps always was—a new generation Bayard Rustin, tantalized GOP biggies with visions of carrying inner-city wards, thus destroying the heart of Democratic strength. From Jackson's point of view, it isn't just that Carter has not delivered to one of his crucial support blocs; it is rather that blacks should not be the captives of one party, will make out infinitely better if they can convincingly present themselves as up for bidding, what do I hear?

Suppressing historic echoes of other occasions of rich white Americans bidding for blacks, we cannot ignore the fact that until the New Deal, blacks who were allowed to vote at all did vote Republican, for the obvious historical reason of the Civil War, Abraham Lincoln, and all that. What those blacks ignored was that the real Republican party didn't come into existence until the Gilded Age, notably in the bought election of 1876 with its repeal of Reconstruction and revival of slavery without the security. The problem for Republicans bidding for black votes is that the bid has to be something: to get, you have to give and big Republican supporters don't want to give very much. It's the same problem this country faces in the Third World. We want those new nations to be anti-Communist, but we don't want to deliver them from the thrall of the American-based multinational corporation. Therefore we are hurt and surprised when they turn to the left as the only force likely to so deliver them.

Opposites attract and in attracting cancel out the hope of action that non-attraction of opposites might bring off. In the light of all this, it is clear why Nelson Rockefeller never made it to the presidency: it would have been redundant.

All this seems to point to a political second act staged by Harold Prince in the style he perfected in *Pacific Overtures*. That crisp rhythmic climax would be a great improvement over shaggy, sloppy, mutedly cacophonic reality.

FRANK GETLEIN

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WILMINGTON 10

NORTH CAROLINA'S CAUSE CELEBRE

In a speeeh televised Monday evening, January 23, North Carolina Governor James B. Hunt reduced the prison sentences of the Wilmington 10, nine black men and one white woman convicted of conspiracy to firebomb Mike's Grocery and to assault emergency personnel in racially troubled Wilmington in 1971. The reduced sentences will make eight of the men eligible for parole this year. Only the Reverend Benjamin F. Chavis, leader of the group, will be forced to wait until 1980 before being considered for parole. Though the governor's decision hardly ends this celebrated case, it does afford one more level from which to analyze it.

One of the most puzzling "conspiracy" cases in North Carolina history, though lacking the drama of Joan Little's trial in the murder of her jailer for supposedly attempting to rape her, the Wilmington 10 still have drawn generous publicity. One of their supporters, Angela Davis, an avowed Communist and member of the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Oppression, called the defendants "political prisoners," adding

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that North Carolina has one of the worst prison systems in the country. On a lower key, columnists Tom Wicker and Mary McGrory, along with members of the Congressional Black Caucus, criticized the prosecution's handling of the case. Last May, Amnesty International, deciding that the human rights of the defendants had been violated, agreed to monitor the post-conviction hearings in Burgaw, seat of the original trial (continuing racial tensions in Wilmington led to the change of venue).

As the publicity built up, a series of events, occurring between the original trial and the post-conviction hearings, kept the case alive and fed suspicions that the punishment meted out—from 10 to 34 years in prison—was too harsh for a trial with so many irregularities.

In the spring, 1977, Morley Safer of "Sixty Minutes" interviewed Eugene Templeton III and his wife, Donna. It was their call for help when Gregory Congregational United Church of Christ was under siege in Wilmington on that February day in 1971, that led the UCC's Commission on Racial Justice to send the Reverend Chavis to the city in an effort to help black students engaged in a school boycott growing out of demands for courses in black studies and a Martin Luther King, Jr. memorial assembly. TV viewers heard the Templetons insist that Chavis was sitting in their rectory parlor when the firebombing occurred. After agreeing to testify for the defense in the original trial, Templeton said, they had been frightened by rumors that they would be charged as accessories. Without informing Defense Attorney James E. Ferguson II, who had built his case around their testimony, they quietly slipped out of Raleigh and returned to their Morristown, New Jersey, home.

Within North Carolina an equally strange chain of events began to unfold. The prosecution's star witness, Allen R. Hall, began a series of recantations of his original testimony accompanied by behavior so bizarre that in one instance in which he kicked out the back door of a police car, leg irons were required to restrain him. Two other black prosecution witnesses, Eric T. Junious and Jerome Mitchell, also recanted their earlier testimony with Junious charging that chief prosecuting attorney James (Jay) Stroud had given him a minibike in return for his testimony. Stroud insisted that he had done nothing wrong, adding "He [Junious] was one of the cutest little boys I've met in my life, black or white. I felt some real affection for him. But I never promised him anything."

The publicity generated by these exposures gained for the Wilmington 10 a review of their convictions, but not the right to be present at the proceedings. Presiding Judge George M. Fountain refused to grant permission for the prisoners to attend the court sessions. By this time, only nine remained behind bars; Anne Sheppard Turner, the white Vista worker convicted of being an accessory in the firebombing, was out on parole.

At the May, 1977 hearing, the Templetons belatedly testified to the whereabouts of Chavis and three other defendants on the night of the firebombing. Hall, described as a yo-yo by one policeman, discredited himself by making a series of recantations favoring first the prosecution and later the defense. Both recantations were taped and played before Judge Fountain. The other two state witnesses swore that they gave perjured testimony in the original trial.

Disclosure of improprieties by the prosecution—New Hanover County sheriff's deputies drove all the way to Asheville in the western mountains to bring Hall's girl friend to him when he became restless in coastal Wilmington where he was sequestered during the original trial—failed to convince the judge that the civil rights of the defendants had been violated. He refused to order a new trial. Supporters of the decision argued that, while prosecution witnesses had cast doubts on their believability, no corroborating witnesses backed up the changed testimony.

Defense attorney Ferguson immediately appealed Judge Fountain's decision, and the case remained there until a few weeks ago. The state court of appeals' decision not to reopen the case, along with U.S. Attorney General Griffin Bell's earlier announcement that he would not intervene, left the matter squarely in the hands of Governor Hunt who, after several weeks of studying transcripts of the trial and the prison records of the nine men, announced that he would commute a portion of their sentences, making parole possible within two years.

It's hard to understand how the case could have dragged on for so long. The evidence that convicted Chavis and his followers, with the exception of the three witnesses who recanted, was entirely circumstantial. In a city where racial feelings were running so high that two men were killed in the crossfire between blacks and white vigilante groups, it is difficult to believe that 10 people could be separated from the mob and found guilty of "conspiracy" under a statute employed only once—to convict them. Even if they had been proved guilty, the length of the prison terms imposed suggests a degree of vindictiveness not warranted by the gravity of the offense they supposedly committed: top value for Mike's Grocery could hardly have been over $10,000. Last May, for example, the McLeods of Sanford were sentenced to six years in prison for torturing their children with live electric wires. At the same time, Sam E. Hudson of New Bern was sentenced to ten years in prison and fined $10,000 for "misapplying" bank funds. Yet, for an alleged conspiracy to firebomb a grocery, eight teenagers, a Vista worker and a young clergyman (Chavis was 22 at the time)—all with no previous prison records—drew a

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combined total of 282 years in prison.

Culprits in the case are not hard to find. Governor Hunt has been under considerable pressure from Wilmington 10 supporters lately, but he hardly qualifies as a culprit. After all, he wasn't involved in the legal proceedings, though his decision to commute only part of the prison sentences in place of granting full pardon didn't help his image as a compassionate and progressive governor.

More likely culprits are those Wilmington 10 supporters whose public utterances, apparently designed to gain political mileage for themselves, merely added to local resentment against "outsiders." Statements like those linking the 10 with political prisoners throughout the world encouraged judges, who are elected in this state and thus responsive to constituent pressures, to stand pat on their decisions. The old populist notion that the decision of a jury—when arrived at without constraint and in full possession of the evidence—should be upheld, reinforced the court's decision not to order a new trial.

Along with political activists and opportunists, defense attorney Ferguson must accept some of the blame for the imprisonment of the Wilmington 10. It was his decision to send the case to the jury after calling only three defense witnesses, all of them supporters of Mrs. Turner. Responding to that criticism, Ferguson said, "It's hard to appreciate the drama of the moment when we had to decide whether to put on a partial defense, or whether to let the state's weaknesses stand for themselves."

To a greater degree than Ferguson, Stroud, chief prosecutor in the case, must bear responsibility for the irregularities in the original trial. His relationship with prosecution witnesses, both before and after they testified, though not necessarily criminal in nature, was, to say the least, improper. The small money gifts he mailed to Hall and Mitchell when they were serving out their prison terms hint at a degree of sympathy not called for between a prosecuting attorney and a cooperative witness. Moreover, Stroud's statements in the press that Chavis arrived in Wilmington in 1971 "driving a Volkswagen" only to leave the city "in an Eldorado," besides being unsubstantiated, served to stir up further antagonism.

In our list of culprits we must not leave out the Templetons, those Casper Milquetoasts who were more concerned with their own safety than they were in seeing justice done. Their position becomes even more ambiguous when one recalls that it was their denomination, the United Church of Christ, that almost singlehandedly raised the half million in funds needed to sustain the defense.

The governor's recent commutation will not lay the case to rest. Already, defense attorney Ferguson has filed for a writ of habeas corpus in the federal courts. Supporters vow to take the case, not only to President Carter, but to the United Nations as well. So the search for culprits is likely to continue. SISTER LOIS SPEAR

(Sister Lois Spear, a previous contributor, teaches History at St. Augustine's Episcopal College, Raleigh, N.C.).

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RICH/POOR NATIONS

THE TIGER AND THE MOUSE

The latest round in the third world's battle for a new international economic order ended inconclusively at Geneva in early December. At a special UN Conference, attempts were made to persuade Western countries to establish an international fund to help stabilize the prices of the commodities on which poor countries heavily depend. The third world see this fund as the centerpiece of their demands for a fairer world order.

An earlier fund conference in March 1977 had resulted in failure. This second gathering made a tiny bit more progress even if it did end on a sour note with poor countries requesting suspension of the conference because, as they phrased it in their statement, "it is futile to continue until the developed countries demonstrate the necessary will to make negotiations meaningful."

Despite the suspension, rich and poor countries inched a little closer towards each other. The conference might be seen as a slow and cumbersome step on the way to setting up a new fund.

Poor countries seek a large-scale $3 billion common fund, financed by all countries, that would actively encourage the establishment of commodity agreements, buffer stocks and other measures to help steady prices. They have in mind an agency that will do for commodity trade what the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund are doing for general development and finance. And they want to control it themselves. Eighty percent of their foreign exchange earnings come from the sale of one or more raw commodities, and they believe they are entitled to something better than the swings and roundabouts of present-day commodity markets which gives them very

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little idea how much they will earn from one month to the next.

Rich countries are prepared to concede a much smaller and more passive fund that would operate chiefly by pooling the resources of existing commodity agreements. The third world believe this is a mouse of a fund compared to the tiger they have in mind.

But in Geneva the two sides showed some willingness to seek an animal midway between the extremes. They did at least manage to break away from their former polarized concepts—it must be a tiger/it must be a mouse—so that was progress. Poor countries are now prepared to concede that the fund could start with less than $3 billion. They originally wanted all the fund's money to come from governments but they now accept that some could be raised from commodity agreements. The rich have eased their original position on the fund; at first they only wanted it to finance buffer stocks. Now they are "open-minded" about other measures, recognizing that buffer stocks are of little use to producers of perishable commodities such as bananas. These other measures might include helping poor countries to diversify away from overdependence on a single commodity, and encouraging research into new ways of using crops—a number of interesting ideas have recently been put forward for new uses of sugar, for example.

Technically the two sides moved fractionally nearer to each other. The big division that remains is political. The economics of a large-scale active fund are sound; industrial nations too have an interest in stable commodity prices and a very definite interest in securing supplies of commodities for industry and supermarket. The common fund would be set up tomorrow if it were not for its political implications. Third world countries were right to raise the issue of the political will of the West.

Power is at the heart of the disagreement. Western countries control and have power over world commodity markets; they are not keen to share that power with the third world. It was Dr. Henry Kissinger who pointed out that a common fund would do a lot more than the innocent stabilization of commodity prices.

The new agency would of course give poor nations more control over both their commodities and their own destinies. It would help them to break away a little from the dominant power of rich countries. Third world primary producers want the power to be able to enjoy a more orderly pattern of trade, with reasonably guaranteed prices—something that domestic primary producers in the West take for granted. Many, although not all, Western countries appear to be trying to cling to commodity power at any cost—even the cost of doing without stable prices and of worsening rich-poor relations. This despite the fact that history is littered with examples of nations clinging to power in a short-sighted fashion even though it was likely to cost them dear in the long run.

But not all Western nations are intent on digging their heads into the sands. At the end of the Geneva conference, four nations, Holland, Norway, Sweden and Finland came out in support of the third world's idea of the fund. Their view is that sharing power with the third world is both morally right and in the West's own long-term interests. Mr. Jan Pronk, the Dutch Minister for Development, pledged his government to give $25 million to the new fund. The Norwegian Minister for Foreign Affairs said the fund was crucial for the whole North-South dialogue.

The split among Western countries has encouraged the third world to believe that the common fund is on its way. "After all," said Venezuela's roving Ambassador Manuel Perez Guerrero, "inflation in the West is becoming intolerable; surely they realize the fund would help to steady prices."

The key technical issue is over whether governments should contribute directly to the new agency. Poor countries want governments to contribute in accordance with their role in world trade, with the richest nations paying the most. The U.S., EEC (apart from Holland) and Japan, want contributions to come mainly through commodity agreements. However, it appears that the Carter administration may be prepared to back direct contributions if all other Western countries agree to do the same. The U.S. recognizes the key role that the fund could play in the fight against inflation. Early in 1977, in a speech to the Council of the Americas, Mr. Fred Bergsten, the U.S. Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, said, "The United States' primary purpose in pursuing international commodity agreements is to reduce the risk of inflationary pressures at home."

Britain and West Germany are the two European nations holding out against the fund and the U.S. is thought to have told them "change your policy and there is a good chance we will do the same." Third world statesmen now intend to lobby hard in the capital cities of Washington, London and Bonn to persuade their Western counterparts of the importance of making progress.

One aspect of international gatherings, such as the common fund conference, that disturbs poor countries is the way that most Western countries are happy to be represented by a low-level delegation. With the exception of Holland and Norway, no Western country was represented by a government minister in Geneva. The U.S. delegation was led by an official from the State Department. In effect the West said to the third world, "Look, we do not think this conference is important enough for one of our top statesmen to attend." The predictable result is that proceedings are limited if not seriously weakened. Officials, as

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good as they are, cannot make any substantial shifts in their country's political stance. The urgent need is for people to be there who can really negotiate to get results.

Setting up an effective common fund is important enough in the whole context of rich-poor affairs for Western statesmen to give it far more priority. This suspended conference could be resumed in the Spring of 1978 at senior ministerial level and, if direct contributions can be agreed on, the rich countries need to be generous enough that those contributions are sufficient for the new fund to work effectively.

There is a strong moral case for a better deal for the third world producers who supply us in Western countries with the raw materials and foodstuffs which make possible our way of life. If we want to continue with our lifestyle it seems reasonable to make sure that the people who help make it possible are adequately rewarded. But morality aside, two self-interest reasons of the West are also important. The fund would help towards stable commodity prices and give Western countries a better chance of overcoming inflation. It is also clear that stable commodity prices would lead to more investment in new commodities. The present lack of investment threatens to cause a drop in the supply of raw materials coming to North America and Europe. And there is a third self-interest reason for the rich—the fund would lead to better relations with poor countries.

The common fund is, of course, only a part of the new international economic order that the third world is seeking. Greater access to the markets of rich countries for their manufactured goods would perhaps do even more to create new workplaces, provide new jobs and earn valuable foreign exchange. But the fund has become something of a test of the West's good faith —they now have the choice of sharing power with the poor or of seeing a deterioration of the relationship with them.

With some positive action on the part of Western statesmen, a fund should be set up during 1978—and that would do a great deal to improve the climate between rich and poor. JOHN MADELEY

(*John Madeley is an international development economist who contributes to the* London Observer, *the* Guardian, Church Times *and other publications.*)

JAMES SULLIVAN

TO MARGARET, ON REACHING FORTY

Like icebergs moving in the night,
There loomed before my eyes two white
Block letters, X and L. They told
The world that I was getting old
And I at first believed that tale,
But I had come too far to fail
And I resolved that at this age
My place in life was center-stage.
Then when I made that move I found
That I was on my proper ground,
For all the things that I could do
Seemed better now, and people knew
What I was doing. This is truth:
The possibilities of youth
Are not remarkable, but one
Who has assiduously done
His duty to himself can show
The world some things it ought to know.
And all of us who have a past
We can be proud of, will, at last,
Display a present beauty. Now
I know I was mistaken how
The big white letters should be read.
To all who own both heart and head
They have another tale to tell:
The letters say, "Excel! Excel!"

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A SYMPOSIUM

A CHICAGO DECLARATION OF CHRISTIAN CONCERN

Issued in mid-December of last year, the Chicago Declaration of Christian Concern was immediately noteworthy in several respects. First, unlike other recent "statements" it focused on organizational trends and practices rather than on theology. Second, it offered a tempered criticism of developments like the lay diaconate and the Detroit "Call to Action," suggesting that these were something less than unambiguous steps forward for the laity. Third, despite these criticisms, it seemed to urge a renewed self-confidence about the Church's social mission, "the grandeur of the Christian vision for man in society," and the "sophisticated body of social wisdom" to be found in Catholic social thought. Fourth, its signers included such representatives of Catholic social and political efforts as Ed Marciniak, Msgr. Daniel Cantwell, Russell Barta, and Patty Crowley; scholars like Sr. Agnes Cunningham, Fathers John Pawlikowski, John Shea, Alcain Coyle and Carroll Stuhmueller; and other individuals from an unusually wide range of occupations—Patrick Gorman of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butchers, George Leighton of the federal judiciary, Faustin A. Pipal, Chairman of the Board, St. Paul Federal Savings & Loan, businessmen, journalists, lawyers, and medical professionals.

Reaction to the Chicago Declaration has been overwhelmingly favorable. Sources as different as the radical Center of Concern in Washington and Our Sunday Visitor *welcomed the Declaration's concern about the devaluation of the laity's secular tasks. Andrew Greeley saw the Declaration as a healthy return from the "romantic revolutionary style of the Berrigan era" to an earlier Catholic social action vision. But most commentators raised at least one or two points of criticism. Many questioned what Msgr. George G. Higgins called "too sharp a distinction between the respective roles of the laity and the clergy in the social ministry of the Church." Citing Karl Rahner, Higgins suggested that "the problem of clericalism . . . is somewhat more complicated than the Declaration makes it out to be." Others, like the Center of Concern, detected "some note of nostalgia" in the Declaration and wondered whether it had given sufficient attention to the complex "social factors which led to the demise of the pre-conciliar lay organizations."*

Commonweal, *too, editorially welcomed the Declaration and urged further discussion of the issues it raised. What follows is the text of the statement and reactions from four individuals representing various theological outlooks and social-political experiences.* THE EDITORS

The signers of this Declaration are members of the Catholic Community in Chicago.

For decades, the Church in Chicago nurtured a compelling vision of lay Christians in society. The vision they had was eventually accepted and celebrated by the Second Vatican Council. That same vision produced national movements and networks which generated a dynamic lay leadership. It attracted priests who saw their ministry as arousing the laity to the pursuit of justice and freedom; who served the laity without manipulating them.

Shall we passively accept that period of history as completely over, and with it the vision that proved to be so creative? While many in the Church exhaust their energies arguing internal issues, albeit important ones, such as the ordination of women and a married clergy, the laity who spend most of their time and energy in the professional and occupational world appear to have been deserted.

"Without a vision, the people shall perish." Who now sustains lay persons as they meet the daily challenges of their job and profession —the arena in which questions of justice and peace are really located? Where are the movements and organizations supporting the young toward a Christian maturity? Where are the priests sufficiently self-assured in their own identity and faith that they can devote themselves to energizing lay leaders committed to reforming the structures of society?

We wait impatiently for a new prophecy, a new word that can once again stir the laity to see the grandeur of the Christian vision for man in society and move priests to galvanize lay persons in their secular-religious role.

We think that this new prophecy should retrieve, at least in part, the best insights of Vatican II. It was Vatican II that broadened our understanding of the Church. It rejected the notion that Church is to be identified exclusively with hier-

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archical roles—such as bishop and priest. The Church is as present to the world in the ordinary roles of lay Christians as it is in the ecclesiastical roles of bishops and priest, though the styles of each differ.

Vatican II did identify man's hopes for social justice and world peace with the Church's saving mission. The salvation of the world is no longer to be construed as applying only to individual persons but embraces all the institutions of society. The Church is present to the world in the striving of the laity to transform the world of political, economic and social institutions. The clergy minister so that the laity will exercise their family, neighborly, and occupational roles mindful of their Christian responsibility. The thrust of Vatican II is unmistakable:

"What specifically characterizes the laity is their secular nature. It is true that those in holy orders can at times be engaged in secular activities, and even have a secular profession. But they are, by reason of their particular vocation, especially and professedly ordained to the sacred ministry. Similarly, by their state in life, religious give splendid and striking testimony that the world can not be transformed and offered to God without the spirit of the beatitudes. But the laity, by their special vocation, seek the kingdom of God by engaging in temporal affairs and by ordering them according to the plan of God. They live in the world, that is, in each and in all of secular professions and occupations. They live in the ordinary circumstances of family and social life, from which the very web of their existence is woven. Today they are called by God, that by exercising their proper function, and led by the spirit of the Gospel, they may work for the sanctification of the world from within as a leaven. In this way they may make Christ known to others, especially by the testimony of a life resplendent in faith, hope and charity. Therefore, since they are tightly bound up in all types of temporal affairs, it is their special task to order and to throw light upon these affairs in such a way that they may be made and grow according to Christ to the praise of the creator and redeemer." (Constitution on the Church, para. 31.)

Although the teaching of Vatican II on the ministry of the laity is forceful and represents one of the Council's most notable achievements, in recent years it seems to have all but vanished from the consciousness and agendas of many sectors within the Church.

It is our experience that a wholesome and significant movement within the Church—the involvement of lay people in many Church ministries—has led to a devaluation of the unique ministry of lay men and women. The tendency has been to see lay ministry as involvement in some church related activity, e.g., religious education, pastoral care for the sick and elderly, or readers in church on Sunday. Thus lay ministry is seen as the laity's participation in work traditionally assigned to priests or sisters.

We recognize the new opportunities opened up to the laity to become deacons, but believe that in the long run such programs will be a disaster if they create the impression that only in such fashion do the laity mainly participate in the mission of the Church. We note that our misgivings are shared by the Apostolic Delegate to the United States, Archbishop Jean Jadot, who commented recently, "I believe in the laity. And the laity as laity. I was very, very impressed, I must say, by my experiences in Africa and my closeness and friendliness with some African bishops who don't want to hear about a permanent diaconate. They say it will kill the laity in the Church. It will kill the laity in the Church because it will reinforce the conviction already existing that to work for the Church you must be ordained."

Our own reaction to the Detroit "Call to Action" conference reflects a similar ambivalence. Without a doubt, it was historic, precedent-setting in its conception, in its consultative process, in helping all levels of the Church listen to each other and in facing challenges to growth affecting the inner life of the Church. But devoting, as it did, so much of its time to the internal affairs of the Church, the conference did not sufficiently illuminate the broader mission of the Church to the world and the indispensable role of lay Christians in carrying out that mission.

During the last decade especially, many priests have acted as if the primary responsibility in the Church for uprooting injustice, ending wars and defending human rights rested with them as ordained ministers. As a result they bypassed the laity to pursue social causes on their own rather than enabling lay Christians to shoulder their own responsibility. These priests and religious have sought to impose their own agendas for the world upon the laity. Indeed, if in the past the Church has suffered from a tendency to clericalism on the right, it may now face the threat of a revived clericalism —on the left.

We also note with concern the steady depreciation, during the past decade, of the ordinary social roles through which the laity serve and act upon the world. The impression is often created that one can work for justice and peace only by stepping outside of these ordinary roles as a businessman, as a mayor, as a factory worker, as a professional in the State Department, or as an active union member and thus that one can change the system only as an "outsider" to the society and the system.

Such ideas clearly depart from the mainstream of Catholic social thought which regards the advance of social justice as essentially the

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service performed within one's professional and occupational milieu. The almost exclusive preoccupation with the role of the "outsider" as the model of social action can only distract the laity from the apostolic potential that lies at the core of their professional and occupational lives.

Although we do not hold them up as models adequate to present-day needs, we do note with regret the decline and, too often, the demise of those organizations and networks of the recent past whose task it was to inspire and support the laity in their vocation to the world through their professional and occupational lives. We have in mind such organizations as the National Catholic Social Action Conference, the National Conference of Christian Employers and Managers, the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, the National Council of Catholic Nurses, Young Christian Students, Young Christian Workers, and the Catholic Council on Working Life.

Although concerns for justice and peace are now built into Church bureaucracy more so than when such organizations flourished, there is no evidence that such bureaucratization has led to further involvement of lay Christians. As a matter of fact, the disappearance of organizations like the above, and our failure to replace them, may have resulted in the loss of a generation of lay leadership.

As various secular ideologies, including communism, socialism and liberalism, each in turn, fail to live up to their promise to transform radically the human condition, some Christians seek to convert religion and the Gospel itself into another political ideology. Although we also yearn for a new heaven and a new earth, we insist that the Gospel of Jesus Christ by itself reveals no political or economic program to bring this about. Direct appeals to the Gospel in order to justify specific solutions to social problems, whether domestic or international, are really a betrayal of the Gospel. The Good News calling for peace, justice and freedom needs to be mediated through the prism of lay experience, political wisdom and technical expertise. Christian social thought is a sophisticated body of social wisdom which attempts such a mediation, supplying the middle ground between the Gospel on the one hand and the concrete decisions which Christians make on their own responsibility in their everyday life.

In conclusion, we address these words of hope and of deep concern to the members of the Church throughout the nation as well as to members of the Church in Chicago. We invite them to associate themselves with this declaration. We prayerfully anticipate that our words and theirs will prompt a re-examination of present tendencies in the Church and that out of such a re-examination will emerge a new sense of direction, a new agenda.

In the last analysis, the Church speaks to and acts upon the world through her laity. Without a dynamic laity conscious of its personal ministry to the world, the Church, in effect, does not speak or act. No amount of social action by priests and religious can ever be an adequate substitute for enhancing lay responsibility. The absence of lay intiative can only take us down the road to clericalism. We are deeply concerned that so little energy is devoted to encouraging and arousing lay responsibility for the world. The Church must constantly be reformed, but we fear that the almost obsessive preoccupation with the Church's structures and processes has diverted attention from the essential question: reform for what purpose? It would be one of the great ironies of history if the era of Vatican II which opened the windows of the Church to the world were to close with a Church turned in upon herself.

—A Chicago Declaration
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'A Losers' Brief?'

ROBERT HOYT

One morning in 1949 I picked up the phone in the Chicago office of *The Morning Star* and found myself in a one-sided conversation with an assistant chancellor of the archdiocese, Monsignor Somebody or Other. Monsignor Other read a statement purporting to emanate from Cardinal Stritch in which my associates and I were instructed to cease forthwith what we were doing: trying to start a Catholic daily newspaper. If we persisted to the point of getting the paper on the streets, we would incur excommunication, no less, and the paper would be denounced from every pulpit in the archdiocese.

In those days getting banned in Chicago was a rare event; it had to mean that somebody in the chancery thought you were ultra-rotten. Now that I think about it, there was also some kind of compliment implied; they must have thought we might be good enough to bring our rotten plans to pass. At this time, though, the call was purely dismaying. We asked, and got, an audience with the Cardinal, but I don't remember much about it except that the carpeting throughout the chancery was somber in hue, deep in pile, and that though we groveled most earnestly it made no difference.

The reason for calling up this memory in connection with the Chicago Declaration is to measure how

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times have changed. Anybody (well, practically anybody) getting such a phone call today would be likely to reply: "Right, Monsignor. Now if you'll just put that in writing we'll think about it." The next step would be to consider whether to give the story first to the *New York Times* or to *N.C.R.;* after that one would begin revising circulation estimates. Upward.

It was different in the Dark Ages. Though Monsignor Cantwell was on the scene then, along with other Declaration signers; though the Baroness's Friendship House was flourishing, Dan Herr had just taken over the Thomas More bookshop, John Cogley and Jim O'Gara were running *Today* and Ed *Marciniak* was putting out *Work*, and though we were on friendly terms with most of these people, I can't recall that anyone advised us to ignore the Cardinal or to go forth in search of headlines. That's not a criticism; given the tight discipline then prevailing any such counsel would have been a plan for disaster. Anyway, we wouldn't have taken it. Though we thought the Cardinal mistaken, we still saw his decision as a sign from on high that *The Morning Star* was not meant to light Chicago. So we went shopping for a permissive bishop, found one (Edwin V. O'Hara) in Kansas City, Mo., got the paper started (as *The Sun Herald*) and ran it into the ground in seven months.

In the light of the Declaration the most interesting aspect of the story is the reply O'Hara gave us when we asked permission to infest his diocese. He said we didn't need permission: We proposed to start a daily paper reporting the news of the world, using such "lay experience, political wisdom and technical expertise" as we possessed. We weren't going to specialize in religious news and we would not be speaking for the Church. So it wasn't his business to grant or deny a seal of approval.

O'Hara was smarter than most other bishops (also nicer), but he didn't invent that approach to lay enterprise and lay responsibility. As the Declaration says, it especially prevailed in Chicago and today it is the accepted wisdom, canonized by Vatican II. Yet to me the Declaration has about it a certain air of asking permission; or, at least, of arguing a losers' brief. Perhaps that is unfair. But if too many lay Catholics are preoccupied with internal Church affairs and not enough Catholics are pursuing the appropriate lay role in the world, what is the point of merely deploring the situation? It's time to organize. In my reading there is not much hint of that in the Declaration, except for the inconspicuous placing of an address to which one may write for more information.

Absence of initiative is to be overcome by supplying some. As the Church now is, nobody is stopping anybody from doing anything. The Declaration itself is an initiative, of course, but given all its emphasis on the distance between gospel truth and social programming, it's not exactly a clarion call. Twenty-five years ago Chicago's Catholics would have agreed that the Gospel dictates no political specifics, but they would not have called for lay initiative merely to redress an imbalance in the Church. Their attention was out there where the problems were. Today it seems dubious that lay Catholics are going to be turned on by vague invitations to be responsible for the world. The message needs more in the way of content. (Maybe more reformism is in order; maybe Christian socialism or liberation theology; maybe the small-is-beautiful crusade.)

Another emphasis in the Declaration calls forth another memory. Vincent Lovett had as much to do as anyone with starting the *National Catholic Reporter*, but by mutual agreement he became only an *ex officio* (non-voting) member of the board of directors. The reason: he was then a priest of the diocese, subject to obedience, hence his presence as a voting member would compromise the lay character of the enterprise. That view of things has dimmed as developments in the Church have restricted the power of bishops and enhanced the self-respect of priests. On the whole I think the fuzzing of what is lay and what is clerical is a good thing. I don't want a clear definition that will bar Robert Drinan from sitting in Congress, Daniel Berrigan from sitting in jail, Mary Luke Tobin from rallying the sisters, Andrew Greeley from counting noses. None of them is usurping my place or imposing an agenda on me. Yes, some clergy and religious should specialize in energizing lay people for the pursuit of justice, but not all of them are good at it. If the Declaration is right in saying that some nuns and some priests are manipulating or upstaging the laity, its indictment needs to be more clearly drawn.

Reverting to the principal emphasis in the Declaration, I will suggest that attention to "internal affairs of the Church" isn't always a distraction from proper lay concern for "the world." Consider the Vatican statement on women priests. It badly needs to be recalled to the factory before it causes any more emotional or intellectual accidents. But Ralph Nader

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can't make that happen. The job needs to be done for the sake of the whole women's movement, and it can only be done from the inside. Consider also the direct ties between the bishops and the right-to-life movement. Reading the *Pittsburgh Catholic* the other day (it was an accident), I noted a declaration by a pro-life leader that Congressional approval for Medicaid abortions when the life of the woman is in danger is "simply a giant loophole for women to obtain abortions at taxpayers' expense." That will be regarded as a (or the) Catholic position and its propagation will be financed largely by Catholic money. Attention should be paid.

Finally, though I yield to no man, woman or Declaration in the depth of my distaste for churchiness, I will argue that people should not be called away from considering the nature of the Church and its processes, specifically including papal infallibility and authority, until the full implications of the issuance of *Humanae Vitae* have been faced and dealt with. Agreed: It is to yawn. But I suspect that to many signers of the Declaration the birth control encyclical demonstrated that the Church is not what it says it is. So what is it? It *will be* what faithful Catholics who attend to its inner life make it to be. I hope the job is not left to the curia or the charismatics.

'Matters Left Unsaid'

ROSEMARY RADFORD RUETHER

I am fully sympathetic to the basic concern of the Chicago Declaration. Certainly the most common aberration of our Church life is the tendency to lose the proper perspective on its purpose for existence. The Church and its ministry does not exist for itself. It exists to redeem the world, both in the personal and in a collective sense. The mission of the Church to the world, to struggle against the structures of war and injustice and to hold out the vision of "God's will done on earth," is fundamental to the purpose of the Church's being. The clerical structures and even sacramental life only find their proper meaning when put in this context. The fundamental ministry of the Church is not the ordained ministry. It is the ministry of the people, the mission of the Church to the world. The particular ministries of pastoring, teaching and celebrating exist only to nurture and promote this ministry of the people. If they forget this and imagine that they exist for themselves, that the people exist to "pay for" the self-perpetuation of a self-enclosed clerical church, the whole reason for the Church has become perverted from its true end.

However, having voiced thus far my basic agreement with the statement, there seem to me certain presuppositions in the statement that need to be explored. Since the statement is really too short to give a clear account of where it stands on some of these matters, this will be less a critique of the statement than some comments on matters left unsaid in it.

The statement seems to presuppose a liberal establishment ecclesiology, or what Gustavo Gutierrez, in his *Theology of Liberation*, calls the "distinctions of planes" model of the Church. This model assumes a hierarchical separation between the sacred and the secular which has the effect of "kicking the sacred upstairs" in order to liberate the secular for its own sphere of autonomy. Sacraments and "that sort of thing" are all well and good for priests. Priests should concern themselves with these internal affairs of the Church. But the secular belongs to the laity. That is their field of ministry and mission. The priests should keep their noses out of this lay sphere and leave it to the laity. To be sure there is a relation between the two. Priests, in their own proper institutional sphere, should somehow inspire and activate the laity. But once the laity march out of the church, thus inspired and activated, the secular sphere belongs to them.

The statement basically deplores the fact that the institutional Church is not doing its job of inspiring and activating the laity in their proper lay mission, and so the sheep are wandering around uninspired and unactivated in their proper lay mission. The statement seems to be asking for some kind of motor in the institution to be turned on, and then this line of movement will again start clicking along.

This complaint seems to ignore a more basic analysis of why this model of the Church didn't seem to work, based on our actual experience of the last two decades. Let me just recall some data from my own experience. It is Los Angeles, 1962. A new generation of American-born priests and nuns are no longer afraid of the "modern world" and are ready to take the lead in developing social ministries. Systematically the chancery stifles, harasses and destroys the ministry of most of this generation. Groups of young priests go to Mexico for a while, hoping to survive in the priesthood "until Mac is dead." Mac lives on, in spirit, if not in person. Most of the young priests we knew at that time are now doing something else. The story can be repeated throughout the country.

One thinks too of a new generation of theologians, for whom Vatican II was the beginnings of a new era, whose creativity and energy for new perspectives were bright with promise: Bernard Cooke, Daniel McGuire, Gregory Baum, Eugene Bianchi, Charles Davis, Harry McSorley and others. Many have retained a vocation to theological teaching, but

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they are no longer priests. In one way or another they were forced to a choice between their priesthood and their personal and intellectual development and integrity. One thinks of "activated" and "inspired" laity, such as the community of Good Shepherd, Alexandria, which has spent several years in futile institutional battles simply to be the church that Vatican II and their former pastor taught them how to be.

In short, our experience tells us that there is a sharp dichotomy between the theory of the Church fostered by Vatican II and the kind of Church those in hierarchical power really want. Those who tried to foster that new church from within the clergy were sabotaged by their own superiors and have either left or have wasted their time fighting futile battles to survive. Is it surprising then that movements such as the "Call to Action" focus on change within the Church itself? Not because they want to focus on the internal workings of the institution, but because it has become evident that, until the power relations within the institution itself are reordered, the Church indeed will not be the base for activating any new vision and mission to the world. Isn't it an amazing statement of faith that women would want to be priests or that laity would believe that the bishops really wanted to have their help to set the agenda for the Church and share in the decision making!

My own temptation is to "let the dead bury the dead." If the clergy really don't want to "inspire" and "activate" us, why not inspire and activate ourselves? Why not really come of age as laity? The statement itself seems to suggest this view. It deplores the passing of a period in which many Catholic organizations were founded for direct work within lay professions and vocations: Catholic labor unions, etc. One would have to ask why many of these ventures broke down. Was it not because the Church helped sponsor them, not to promote real social change in the secular sphere, but to try to tie this lay sphere to the Mother's apron strings? When such groups assumed real lay initiative and, especially when they recognized that their Christian ministry in their work was leading them to real struggles for social change, they soon lost their ecclesiastical approbation.

There have not been lacking some dynamic lay movements in my recent Catholic experience: lay-sponsored publications, such as the *N.C.R.*; ministering communities like the Community for Creative Non-Violence, sprung from the Catholic Worker Movement; Catholic Peace organizations; Catholic Pro-Choice groups; Catholic feminist groups, such as the dynamic Chicago Catholic Women, etc. Not one has had anything but a negative relation with the hierarchical Church. The clergy who function in it, do so less as leaders and inspirers than as refugees. The fuller their Christian vision and the more spirited their activity, the more likely they are to be banned by the chancery.

We have, then, to ask ourselves more seriously the sort of questions which the statement wishes to bypass. Is there something about the ideology, money and power that supports our institutional Church that makes it hostile to the Christian vision of promoting peace and injustice which it claims to foster? Would we not, indeed, find secular versions of that same hostility in many of our workplace situations? How does one carry out one's Christian vocation to peace and justice in a munitions factory built on exploited labor? In short, whether we like it or not, doesn't the very taking seriously of the Christian Gospel of peace and justice make us "outsiders," outsiders to the sort of Church the hierarchy wants, outsiders also to the sort of world our employers and political leaders want?

The Christian vision is in tension with the world; in tension with the structures of institutionalized evil that define much of the status quo. The institutional Church is a part of that same world and, in many ways, a parasite upon it. The vocation to the gospel, therefore, cannot be the smooth flowing triumphal procession from the sacristry to the workplace of the liberal version of Christendom. It must rather be the difficult task of shaping supportive communities for humanization within and across those institutional divides of Church and secular society in order to find a place to stand from which to struggle against the negative trends that define much of both our Church and our world. The "separation of planes" model of Church and world of liberal Christendom ultimately doesn't work because it doesn't have anything to do with the real divisions of good and evil that divide our hearts and our institutions, including that of the Church.

'An Ironic Problem'

JOHN GARVEY

The Chicago Declaration of Christian Concern is certainly right on at least a couple of points. Lay people are largely ignored by the hierarchy, and there is a churchiness which can get in the way of the Christian message. The inwardness which the Declaration mentions is indeed cloying. But at the center of the Declaration lies an ironic problem: this Declaration which worries about the place of the laity is essentially clerical in its assumptions. In addition, its notion of the layperson's place in society is disturbingly narrow.

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Look at a few phrases: "The laity . . . appear to have been deserted." . . . "Where are the priests sufficiently self-assured in their own identity and faith that they can devote themselves to energizing lay leaders committed to reforming the structures of society?" . . . "We wait impatiently for . . . a new word that can once again stir the laity to see the grandeur of the Christian vision for man in society and move priests to galvanize lay people in their secular-religious role." . . . "The clergy minister so that the laity will exercise their family, neighborly, and occupational roles mindful of their Christian responsibility."

The signers of the Declaration, according to a report in the *National Catholic Reporter*, are not at all of one mind about the wording of the Declaration. They sensed, rightly, that the Church is, on the whole, too clerical and churchy a preserve; they knew something was wrong, so they signed. And as several have pointed out, this is by no means meant to be a last word, but instead should open a discussion.

Fine. Let me suggest, for openers, that lay people in need of galvanization by priests wouldn't have done us much good anyway, galvanized or not. Neither galvanization nor leadership is the job of the priest. And maybe that last statement, in our clericalized Church, needs some explaining.

Priests are ordained for a specific and limited function: to preside at the public worship of the Church, and administer the sacraments. Over the years priests have taken on additional roles, including those of community leader, counselor, visitor of the sick, and so forth. But what happened during this period of clericalization was that the idea of Christian ministry became constricted. There is no particular reason why ordination should fit a person for leadership, teaching, catechetical work, counseling and so forth. These services should fall to those who are good at them, ordained or not.

Is it true that involving lay people in Church activities has led "to a devaluation of the unique ministry of lay people"? The problem lies in the language. It is the ministry of the clergy which is unique, not the ministry of lay people. All of us are called to complete Christianity by virtue of having been baptized. Within the Church some are set aside and ordained to administer the sacraments, by bishops whose work it is to coordinate the activities of the Christian community. Certainly the bishops should be more attentive to lay talent; but I am afraid there is something else behind the language which speaks of the special role of the laity, and it has to do with the social assumptions of the Declaration.

The complaint is that "many priests have acted as if the primary responsibility in the Church for uprooting injustice, ending wars and defending human rights rested with them as ordained ministers. As a result they bypassed the laity to pursue social causes on their own rather than enabling lay Christians to shoulder their own responsibilities. These priests and religious have sought to impose their own agendas for the world upon the laity . . . The Church . . . may now face the threat of a revived clericalism—on the left."

During the Vietnam war I met a few clerics who acted this way. But those clergy and religious who worked with anti-war laypeople during that time did so, on the whole, as brothers and sisters, not at all as people imposing agendas. What I am afraid the Declaration is saying is that if only people like the Berrigans had consulted politicians and State Department sorts, they would have learned the error of their ways and would have worked within the system to reform, say, operation Phoenix or the CIA.

The Declaration reinforces this suspicion when it goes on to deplore the impression "that one can work for justice and peace only by stepping outside of these ordinary roles as a businessman, as a factory worker, as a professional in the State Department, or as an active union member and thus that one can change the system only as an 'outsider' to society and the system." This notion departs, the Declaration says, "from the mainstream of Catholic social thought which regards the advance of social justice as *essentially* the service performed within one's professional and occupational milieu." (Italics mine.) Essentially? It is true that Catholic social thought, concerned as it was with maintaining the status quo, did say things like this for a long time. But under Pope John and Pope Paul that has, thank God, begun to change. No one I know of, clerical or lay, has suggested that anyone has to step out of all of the roles listed above, but recent social encyclicals have pointed out that there are corrupt and corrupting economic and political systems. Pope Paul, for example, has denounced the role of multinational corporations in international politics. And there may be times when one cannot reform a system from within, when Christianity is best served by outsiders and dropouts; there may be some occupational situations within which a Christian cannot work, and remain faithful. This essential consideration is not addressed by the Declaration. The lay experience of Dorothy Day, Jim Forest, Tom Cornell and other Catholic lay people has led to conclusions which favor the outsider's role; but this lay experience doesn't seem to be what the Declaration has in mind.

While it is true that the Gospel offers no specific

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political or economic program, given the omissions of the Declaration I am not comfortable with the idea that "the Good News calling for peace, justice, and freedom needs to be mediated though the prism of lay experience, political wisdom, and technical expertise." And I am not at all sure that there is a "middle ground between the gospel on one hand and the concrete decisions which Christians make." Or at least, I am not sure that there should be one.

What lay people should do is what, as people baptized into the death and resurrection of Christ, they must do to be faithful, collectively and as individuals. The business of a good bishop is not to get in their way, but to assist and encourage them. The business of a priest is to celebrate with them. The business of the ordained clergy is not necessarily to lead them anywhere.

The real question is not what lay people, bishops, or priests ought to be doing in terms of their specific roles; that is as churchy a question as any. The question should rather be, what should Christians be doing? There is no reason why lay people can't organize themselves; and if they fail to do so, it is because of an absence of lay leadership.

'The Worldly Calling'

JOHN A. COLEMAN

The malaise of the Church in Chicago since the incumbency of Cardinal Cody has been painful to many of us whose roots lie elsewhere. Out of their sense of present drift and reactionary setback in Chicago, the drafters of "A Chicago Declaration of Christian Concern" have raised questions which are compelling for the entire American Church. They make four claims about current American Catholicism: (1) the laity who spend most of their energy in the occupational world have been deserted by the Church. (2) There is danger of a new clericalism of the left. (3) The Church has been too preoccupied with internal affairs. (4) New social action models for the Church accord a privileged role to "outsiders" to the system to the detriment of ordinary social roles in public life.

I was helped in reflecting on the Declaration by recalling Max Weber's three decisive sociological hallmarks for a lay church as opposed to a religious professionals' church. The first is a strong sense of the secular as a vocation in its own right, what Weber calls a "worldly calling." The second is the absence of a professional monopoly on information or decision-making in the community. The opposite of a lay church is not so much clericalism, measured by ordination, as bureaucracy. Finally, a lay church is a true community. Of the latter Weber remarks incisively that he would speak of lay incorporation into the community "only in cases where the laity (1) are socialized into a *lasting* community activity whose progress they (2) also influence *actively* in one way or another. A mere administrative district which defines the priests' competencies is a religiously defined administrative unit but not a community."

Catholics have never really had a lay church in America. When the Declaration points to past lay movements and their priest animators, it misses the irony that these earlier movements, for all their important achievements, were never "worldly" enough. They sought lay insertion into the secular order through specifically confessional Catholic separatist organizations. The lay ideal of the 1940s and 1950s was too tied to the Catholic Action model, now outdated, which in fact never fitted the needs of the American Church. No one ever quite knew just who had the Catholic Action mandate. Finally, too often these lay movements lacked social leverage because they uncritically baptized the New Deal and secular liberal pragmatism without offering a compelling alternative vision of the social order.

Nevertheless, the first allegation about scouting the ordinary lay occupational worlds speaks to Weber's criterion of a strong sense of a worldly calling. The Declaration rightly scores the tendency "to see lay ministry as involvement in some church related activity, e.g., religious education, pastoral care for the sick and elderly, or readers in church on Sunday."

There are reasons for the clergy to open up ministries traditionally assigned to priests and sisters. The greying of the clerical caste is no statistical secret. But such an opening up of a diminished concept of ministry does little to alter the idea of the clergy as religious professionals. Even when it includes lay religious professionals, a professional bureaucracy is still a species of clericalism, by certification if not ordination. Including laity in the class of religious professionals does nothing to promote new ways of relating the Church to the social order. The Declaration is absolutely right in asserting that only a renewed sense of a specifically lay worldly calling could do that.

The Declaration is wrong in its second allegation which draws a line mainly between clergy and laity instead of one between the new religious professional class (ordained and lay) and the laity in a worldly calling. Nor is the major threat to the Church in America that of a new clericalism of the left. The main danger is Weber's prime bogeyman, the professional bureaucracy. Because the professional bureaucracy predominated in the final convocation of Detroit's "Call to Action," its preoccupation, like all bureaucracies, was with internal affairs. Bureauc-

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racies—even religious ones—are prone to the temptation of what Ivan Illich calls "professional monopoly." Despite a rhetoric of "service orientation," they tend to substitute self-interest, experts' control and mystification by certification for genuine service. Professionals have a penchant for turning co-participant *peers* into *clients*. When they do so they lose touch—as the Declaration alleges—with their constituency.

There are also reasons why most of the new religious professionals may be insensitive to the idea of a worldly calling. To begin with, it is not *their* calling. Moreover, the currently privileged Clinical Pastoral Education model for training in ministerial apprenticeships, while rightly stressing professional competence in functional tasks, neglects to raise substantive questions about the social location and purposes of ministry. It does little to nurture a vivid sense of worldly calling. This depreciation of a sense of an autonomous world vocation is doubly sad since it comes at a time when for most in America the world-calling, by degenerating into a treadmill on careers which lack inner meaning, involves being trapped in what Weber called "an iron cage." Only religious resources could retrieve a new sense of worldly vocation for a genuine renewal of church in service of society.

But to take seriously the idea of a world calling would jeopardize the religious professionals' monopoly in the Church, Weber's second decisive factor. It would also rule out any shortcuts to Christian social action. If, as the Declaration correctly declares, there is no short-circuiting of the move from gospel values through ethical principles to concrete expertise, the laity, precisely through their occupational roles, have an experience which makes them an indispensable element in the Church. Without them, hierarchy, clergy, or lay religious professionals spin social action models at their own peril.

Some internal reforms, in collegial communication and governance, are therefore necessary to break the professionals' monopoly in the Church. Nevertheless, an initially healthy reaction to the Church conceived almost purely as an *institution* has lured us toward an overemphasis on the Church as *koinia* and communion. We have forgotten that the community exists precisely for mission. Service to the world is not something the Church does after being fully constituted. Its very ingathering as community is constituted by its being sent in mission. Moreover, as Gregory Baum has put it, in commenting on Weber, internal preoccupation is always disastrous for church renewal. "It seems that church reform can only be successful if it is carried forward by important sociopolitical trends in society."

All this supports the Declaration's third allegation, that the Church is focused excessively on internal affairs. Yet a tension exists between this position and the complaint of an overemphasis on "outsiders" to the system as the carriers of a new social ethic. From *Gaudium et Spes* through *Justice in the World*, from papal encyclicals and episcopal pronouncements to political and liberation theology, there is a new call for a worldly vocation to build a social order of justice and peace. But it is the "outsiders" in the present unjust social order—the poor, the marginal nonparticipants, the developing nations, oppressed cultural minorities—who become the touchstone, as they are in the Bible, to judge the justice of any social order.

In criticizing this new emphasis on the "outsider," the Declaration confuses two distinct propositions: (1) Outsiders to the system constitute a privileged reference group for determining the justice of a social order. (2) Outsiders to the system are the principal actors in changing the social order. I miss in the Declaration any sense that the first proposition provides us with a renewed, biblically-based motive and vision for worldly action to transform the injustices of our social system. Without something like it we run the risk once again that the worldly calling might be a surrender to purely secular trends. The Declaration is correct in rejecting the second proposition about outsiders to the system. It lacks historical validity and deviates widely from the traditional Catholic sensibility for concrete political wisdom. The second proposition only holds for those systems which the Christian conscience deems so irreformable that revolution is both the last resort and the adjudged lesser of two evils. There are societies in the world which merit that judgment. In my opinion, America at present is not one of them. Perhaps a too facile importation of social action models from other countries, e.g., Korea, the Philippines, Brazil, explains their current prevalence in the American Church. That such countries are legitimately reference groups even for judging our own social order does not compel us to accept social action models which originate there.

The Chicago Declaration deserves a widely ranging debate. It raises the right issues and signals the wrong turns in the post-Vatican American Church. I do not share its implicit nostalgia for some non-existent past American lay Church. I concur, however, in its concern for pointing toward an American Church in which, in Weber's phrase, the laity "are socialized into a lasting community activity whose progress they also influence actively." For, in both my sociological and theological understanding, the laity always remain the key agents of any genuine Church renewal.

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THE SCREEN

In the previous issue I began surveying last year's films about women, of which there were an unprecedented number. I mentioned eight in that column—Altman's *Three Women*, Varda's *One Sings, the Other Doesn't*, Zinnemann's *Julia*, Mezzaro's *Women*, Ross's *The Turning Point*, Bunuel's *That Obscure Object of Desire*, Brook's *Looking for Mr. Goodbar* and Truffaut's *The Man Who Loved Women*—and a ninth film I should have added is Claude Goretta's compassionate and lyrically sad work, *The Lacemaker*. My instinct in returning to the subject this week is to head straight for Bunuel's film, though I know that doing so will be sure to miff some readers already impatient, no doubt, at my having devoted much of the last discussion to Truffaut. But in the context of so many films about the relationship between two women—all of the ones listed above except Truffaut's, *Goodbar* and *The Lacemaker*, and even so, the last two have a relationship between the heroine and another woman as a sub-plot—Bunuel's film, in which two actresses play the role of one woman, is a real *coup d'état*.

Like Truffaut's film, Bunuel's is calculated to disappoint certain expectations it itself creates in us. By choosing two women who look very different—one an endomorph, the other an ectomorph; one dark, the other fair—Bunuel seems to be attempting to embody the two sides of his heroine's personality, which is teasing and seductive one minute but taunting and prudish the next. So far as I can see, however, which actress plays the role when is practically arbitrary. If this "object of desire" is "obscure," it is because the film purposely cuts across the grain of the premises Bunuel himself has established for it. A stunt like this would be typical of Bunuel, whose films have a long and delightfully perverse history of anti-symbolism. If women find this film misogynous, they ought not to take it personally, for Bunuel's biases violate none of the Equal-Opportunity provisions of the law. His misogyny is only part of a general misanthropy: he has easily as much contempt for men as women.

But I shall restrain myself from enthusing further over Bunuel. Not that I give any credence to the argument that in judging films about women, moral or political considerations should take precedence over artistic ones. That's nonsense. Style *is* morality in art, as Susan Sontag says. This is why the films by Altman, Truffaut and Bunuel are greater than, for want of their own style, any of the other films being discussed here. There just aren't two ways about it. If you want to see how inferior to Bunuel's film or Truffaut's a film that is politically "correct" can be, take a look at Fred Zinnemann's *Julia*.

The trouble with *Julia*, both politically and aesthetically, is that it is not in control of its own implications. It keeps saying things it clearly does not intend to say. Zinnemann and scriptwriter Alvin Sargent seem oblivious to the imagery they themselves have created in adapting Lillian Hellman's memoir. Of what does the relationship between Julia (Vanessa Redgrave) and Lillian (Jane Fonda) consist, after all? During almost the entire film the two women are out of touch with each other; yet Lillian goes to extraordinary lengths, and even puts herself in mortal danger, in order to perform a service for Julia. The reason is at least in part political in the old-fashioned sense. Lillian performs this service, which is to smuggle money to the anti-Nazis in Germany, out of admiration for Julia's self-sacrifice to that cause. But at the same time Lillian's political regard for Julia is all mixed up with her personal friendship for her, for Lillian is smuggling the money because it seems to her the only way she will ever get to see again this long-lost companion of her girlhood. That is the real reason she runs the risk. This returns us to the question of what their relationship is based on in the first place. What is it between them—indeed, what can it be between two women—that inspires such devotion and nobility?

Zinnemann might have gotten away with not answering this question at all. He could have just let us assume their relationship. But he chooses not to do this, and the series of brief flashbacks in which he does attempt to establish the relationship between the two women is, to say the least, remarkable. After a couple of early scenes elsewhere, these flashbacks concentrate on a camping trip Lillian and Julia once took. Here they are before their tent deep in the virgin forest, wearing jackboots and jodhpurs. Here they are traversing a gorge on a fallen tree from which Lillian nearly falls, and here sitting and talking serenely on the edge of a mossy precipice below which yawns a mist-filled val-

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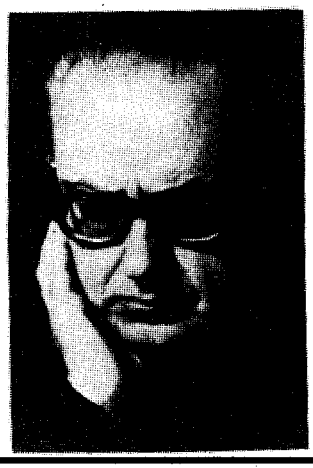
ley. But wait a minute: I thought this was an *anti*-Nazi film. These flashbacks, which are intended to provide a friendship that the rest of the film can use as motivation, do so by creating some sort of myth of the *Uberfrau*— by simply transferring the old Aryan myth of the *Ubermensch* to women. Is this why the relationship between these two women is so special, because womanhood itself is a kind of racial purity like that to which Nazism was committed? This is, anyway, what Zinnemann's vision of their relationship suggests.

Besides being the setting for Nietzsche's *Zarathustra*, scenes of mountain gloom and mountain glory like these are right out of the films in which Leni Riefenstahl starred before she became a propagandist for Hitler. In fact, Bavarian mountain-climbing epics were in the twenties a German genre almost comparable in popularity to the Western here, and it was because of her prominence in such films that Riefenstahl attracted Hitler's notice. He saw in the physical culture and camaraderie of those films an anticipation of the Nazi ideology of *Kraft durch Freud* which Riefenstahl was to realize in her 1938 film, *Olympiad*. It's hard to say which is the more remarkable, though—that such Nazi *spiel* should turn up now in connection with feminism, or that the connection should have been made by Fred Zinnemann, who was himself a German refugee from Nazism at about the time that *Julia* takes place. As I said at the beginning of the first of these two columns, if we want better films about women, we may have to wait until women themselves are ready to make them —women whose talent is as great as Leni Riefenstahl's, but whose ideology, one hopes, will be different from hers. Until then we are stuck with the ruminations of unredeemed men like Truffaut and Bunuel, and with feminist kitsch like *Goodbar*, *One Sings*, *the Other Doesn't*, *The Turning Point*, or—last *and* least—*Julia*.

COLIN L. WESTERBECK, JR.

GINASTERA: THE ROAD TO 'BARABBAS'

RALPH THIBODEAU



GINASTERA—you can take your pick on the first syllable, the usual Spanish *h*, or Italian as in Lollobrigida, or Catalan as in Gigi. Whatever you call him, Alberto Ginastera is one of our greatest living composers, a man who, at 61, can look back at a solid achievement running now to 50 opus numbers. Every premiere of a Ginastera work is an event, and the musical world is currently looking forward to his new opera *Barabbas*, which will open the season of the New York City Opera in September.

Ginastera became internationally famous a quarter century ago, when his Piano Sonata was first played at Carnegie Tech by Johanna Harris. His preeminence remains assured by a powerful creative imagination, extraordinary intellectual vigor, and an artistic integrity revealed both in his spiritual vision and in his obsessive concern to give his best to every work he begins.

Ginastera's *Cantata par America Magica*, premiered in Washington in 1961, prompted Irving Lowens to call him "one of the major composers of our day." An evocation of pre-Columbian Argentina, for dramatic soprano and 54 percussion instruments, it established him as our greatest master of rhythm. In fact, rhythm plays such an overwhelming part in his works that, recalling Aaron Copland's phrase on the primacy of rhythm, we might say with Copland paraphrasing Goethe paraphrasing St. John: In the beginning was rhythm, and the rhythm was in Ginastera, and the rhythm was Ginastera. Rhythm and percussion. From his early ballets, *Panambì* and *Estancia*, to his latest works, the drums are not silent for long—even in works which have no drums.

The early cultural and musical influences of Ginastera's native Argentine *pampa* have of course left their imprint on his work, but so have the later musical influences of Stravinsky, Bartok, Schoenberg—especially Stravinsky, as in the early *Psalm 150*. But that was a long time ago, 1938; and an unmistakable individual style has long since decisively transcended the impelling influences.

Ginastera gained his greatest renown, or perhaps notoriety, with his operas, especially *Bomarzo* (1967), a story of a historical hunchback Renaissance duke. It deals with homosexuality, narcissism, impotence, suicide by poison, voyeurism, nudity, seduction in a bordello, and various forms of violence, including an axe-murder.

And in *Beatrix Cenci*, based on Shelley's epic, we had a drama of incest and multiple murders. I saw the action behind a full-stage scrim, suggesting the irrational, with eyes and hands projected on it, the organs of unholy passion.

And I heard the irrational-sounding

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music reminiscent of *Wozzeck*, bending, stretching the tonal system to and beyond the breaking point, rushing over into the frank atonalism of the New Viennese School, and into the aleatory style even more suggestive of psychic disorder, the power of chance —*iacta est alea.*

The wildly irrational in music: all very well for a couple of Renaissance madmen. But Ginastera had also written *Laudata.* What would the new *Barabbas,* with its sacred theme, elicit from the composer: the sublimity of the *Laudate,* or the musical and psychic chaos of *Bomarzo*? The answer seems to be both, and I found it in the *Turbae ad Passionem Gregorianam* (1975).

If there is one memory of the old Catholic Latin music which will not be erased, it is the chanting of the Passions on Palm Sunday and Good Friday. How introduce the wild, screaming angularities of *Wozzeck* into the fabric of this holy, austere music?

To be sure, not only chant had been used in the past. The practice of setting the *turba* sections of the Passion polyphonically is an ancient and honorable one, going back at least as far as Richard Davy in 15th-century England. And the greatest *turbae* of all are in the Bach Passions.

Remembering Bach's "Crucify Him" and the almost shouted "Barabbas," I suddenly understood the genius of Ginastera: with his mastery of musical expressionism, the dredged-up sounds of the darkness in the human psyche, what better place to call on it than in depicting this immense human sin, this impossibly irrational killing of God?

I understood, as I heard the mobs, shouting and screaming, literally, *Quis est hic*? (Who is this?); *Nos habemus legem* (We have a law). Hollering, spitting out *Ave, Rex Judaeorum,* demanding *Barabbas*; as for that Other, *Crucifigatur.* And on the hill of Calvary, *Si filius Dei es, descende de cruce* (If you are the Son of God, come down from the cross); Ha! Ha! Ha! Ha!

The psychic disorder of the mob, individual and collective, certainly a determining, possibly even a deterministic, factor in Christ's Passion, here reflected in the wildly dissonant, out-of-human-range, inhuman music.

But reflected, too, are the pleasanter aspects of the crowd singing, shouting their *Hosannas,* while the choir of boys sings *Hosanna, Filio David* from Palm Sunday; and their *Exsulta satis, filia Jerusalem* (Rejoice greatly, daughter of Jerusalem), recalling the *Messiah.* The poignant, almost pleading, voices of the Apostles as they respond to Christ's message of betrayal, *Numquid ego sum, Domine*? (Is it I, Lord?). The centurion and his soldiers singing soberly, somberly, *Vere filius Dei erat iste* (Truly this was the Son of God).

The quiet *Deus, Deus meus, respice in me* (O God, my God, look upon me), the anguished cry from Psalm 22; or the desperate cry of Job, prefiguring the suffering Christ, *Quare non in vulva mortuus sum*? (Why did I not die in the womb?). The softer commentaries on the Seven Last Words. And Alleluias at the end.

In Corpus Christi, the City of the Body of Christ, I spoke with Ginastera, there as guest composer at Del Mar College's Contemporary Music Festival. "This is the only Passion with a happy ending," the composer told me. "I found in St. Mark the words: *Yo no soy el Diòs de la muerte, sino de la vida*—I am not the God of death, but of life. Then it was clear to me—the Passion ends with the Resurrection, which is logical."

And what may we expect of *Barabbas,* another aspect of the Passion?

"It is not a question of the religious dimension, but of the metaphysical suffering of the man, Barabbas, who feels guilt at having caused the death of another man, an innocent man."

He added, "While Barabbas is guilty of many things, this is not one of them. I conceive of Barabbas as a *Maquisard,* a member of the Jewish underground working to throw off the Roman yoke. Those Jews in the mob, when they shouted for Barabbas, knew their man."

An interesting conception, often commented upon in recent years, but hardly intended, or even implied, in the original play by the contemporary Belgian playwright, Michel de Ghelderode.

Perhaps Ginastera has reason, in his own life, for regarding Barabbas as a *simpatico* political-rebel figure: he too has had troubles with Caesar.

In 1941 he was appointed to the faculty of the Liceo Militar in Buenos Aires to teach music appreciation; in

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1945, for signing a manifesto defending democratic principles and human rights, he was fired. Back in Buenos Aires in 1947, he founded the Conservatory of Music and Dance; in 1954, increasingly suspect because of his anti-Fascist sentiments, he was again fired by the Peronistas—from his own conservatory.

Ginastera loves and admires the "democratic republic of the United States." But like many liberals in Argentina today he accepts the current military dictatorship of General Jorge Videla and friends as a temporary, necessary expedient to deal with the terrorism of the revolutionary left. And in the end, expediency or not, "I long for the day," he said, "when the traditional Argentine democracy can be restored."

"And *Barabbas*?" I picked up the thread.

"The action takes place from sunrise to sunset of Good Friday. It is a paradigm of the evolution of man, of the madness of man versus the Light which does not speak."

Again in contrast to the play, Christ does not appear on stage, only the light symbolizing Him.

"And all the evolution, as reflected in Barabbas, comes to an end when he is assassinated by agents of Caiaphas and the very priests who freed him. He dies when Christ dies, and remembering Him, he looks toward Calvary and calls Christ brother."

In spite of the composer's own disclaimer of religious intent, I think that *Barabbas* will be recognized as a religious work of a religious man. The direction of Ginastera's thought revealed in the *Turbae*, and now in this metaphysical unity in the duality of Christ and Barabbas, makes Ginastera part of a contemporary musical phenomenon, the trend of many of our greatest 20th-century composers to choose religious subjects for some of their most ambitious works: Stravinsky, Kodaly, Britten, Duruflé, Penderecki, Messiaen come to mind. In a nominally—indeed aggressively—secular atmosphere, the musicians, like the novelists, continue to invoke, and somehow praise, the name of God.

BOOKS

THE TROUBLES AND THE TRAUMA

ROSEMARY H. BALSAM

Irish Blood
DENNIS J. CLARK
Kennikat Press, $7.95

Children in Conflict
MORRIS FRASER
Basic Books, $8.95

Society under Siege
RONA M. FIELDS
Temple University Press, $15

In *All Quiet on the Western Front*, the story of the inner struggles of a young German soldier in World War I, he bitterly observes: "And this I know: all these things that now, while we are still in the war, sink down in us like a stone, after the war shall awaken again, and then shall begin the disentanglement of life and death." All these books counter that state of mind about the Northern Ireland conflicts which would let the experience there sink down in us "like a stone." The stone can sink deeply in the minds of people immediately overwhelmed, so that it remains submerged and virtually unchanged, till dredged up at some later time. Or the stone can wash towards the beach where the beating waves and the eddies of the surf remold its exposed surface. Or a sculptor can lift it up and create visions with his tools. Where the human mind begins to take responsibility for its own conflicting wishes and fears, sorting out the past from the present, the rational from the irrational that it would as soon let sink in order to maintain status quo, new realignments of its own resources can emerge.

The past forever entangles and often dominates the present in Northern Ireland in the seventies, violently reactive in some elements of the society and inertly passive and rigid in others. Whether within a United Ireland, or whether just within Ulster, Catholics and Protestants will have to deal with each other straightforwardly, recognizing that the past is not exactly the same as the present in order to attempt different solutions. I share Dennis Clark's hope that "some great leader will arise to lead the way out of sectarian and politically bigoted stalemate." Meantime there is no such person, but fairminded students of Ireland like Dennis Clark and Morris Fraser can pave the way towards more creative and rational outlooks for those directly participating in politics and education.

Dennis Clark's work is a well-written, informing and balanced book which eminently fulfills his own edict that "the light of scholarship should shine impartially." He examines the history of Irish-American relations to the present strife, and looks closely at the network of American support for Irish Northern Aid, which is part of a tradition of immigrants to the U.S. supporting their mother countries in times of stress. Except by those Irish-Americans deeply committed to the anti-English tradition, support has waxed and waned since 1969, peaking at about one half a million dollars in 1972.

He draws a distinction between the

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I.R.A. of the twenties which was less ambivalently supported, and the I.R.A. of the seventies. As many know, the I.R.A. is now divided in two. There is the Marxist Official wing who pursue non-violence, and see the dilemma of the Northern Catholics in third world terms and Ireland as a whole in terms of class struggles. There is also the Provisional wing (the Provos) who would unite Ireland by gun and bomb taking no cognizance of the dissenting Northern Protestants or the complexities involved for the Dublin government in assimilating them. The aims and character are different from the past. The Provos are more secret, urban and have general targets, such as bringing the entire Ulster Society to a halt. This random bombing, which inevitably penalizes both Catholics and Protestants, has confused Irish Americans. "It was a different kind of warfare from the days of Tom Barry's flying column roving the misty Irish countryside." The complexity of Ulster's problems as well as the raging terrorism, he feels, have disenchanted many Irish Americans who are disgusted at the inequalities, the violations of human rights and who would wish to see Ireland pursue her own destiny free of England.

Other factors within the U.S. militated against support. America in the sixties and early seventies was surfeited with its own struggles about Civil Rights, the blacks and the Viet Nam war. Established Irish-American businessmen often wished to avoid association with more promises of agitation and a terrorist campaign. Some events increased support; the appearances of the able Bernadette Devlin McAliskey with her original Civil Rights issue, (although some of her more radical ideas were hard to absorb here); boosts from Irish fighters straight from the front talking with local groups; the paradox of the strict handling of Irish-connected radicals by the Nixon administration, whose own agents were simultaneously arms-dealing with Latin countries, Greece, etc., and who seemed more interested in palliating the English government than in the plight of Ireland. However, the network support had a tendency to flag, and it never drew in other groups such as the Catholic Church, or the Jews or civil libertarian associations. Congress was uninterested, even though Senators Kennedy, Ribicoff, James Buckley and Rep. Hugh Carey all spoke up suggesting the withdrawal of the English troops and inviting wider debate of the issues to "stay England's rough hand in Ulster." There is nothing in Dr. Clark's book about Irish-American support for the Protestant paramilitary groups to Northern Ireland. This too would be an interesting issue. Does it exist, and if so what is its contribution? Knowledge grounds rumor. This book should be of great interest not only to Irish-Americans, but to English, Northern Protestant and Dublin politicians who panic with fantasies of massive American support for those who are solely bent on the bombing and destruction of Ulster.

Morris Fraser's work, too, serves to fight the apathy that would let these experiences be left in the realm of unease at a newsflash. This is another sensitive, searching and open-minded book. It conveys his profound humanitarian concern for the children who have grown up in the violence. Accounts are gleaned from his knowledge of both Protestant and Catholic children from the inner city, from "normals" on the street and in Youth Clubs, to the psychiatric casualties he saw in his office. He identifies two groups of children at risk. One is typified by the 10-year-old girl, passively traumatized and exhibiting anxiety symptoms such as bed-wetting, fainting, etc. The other is the early teenage boy, who has been actively traumatized, has a relative interned, is part of the stone-throwing mob and perhaps is a youngster who has gorily maimed soldiers and/or been physically injured himself. His concepts of authority are so jumbled that he lacks stable internal controls, is generally troubled and hostile—a boy "in need of protection from himself." It is unprecedented in history that children of from five-years-old and upwards have been organized into such an active role in guerrilla warfare. Dr. Fraser points out that such acts of bravado as climbing right up on Saracen tanks to lob petrol-bombs at the hated "bogey-man," the British Soldier, are manifestations of age-appropriate immaturity and underdeveloped life-death concepts.

Adults have misinterpreted these acts as only "bravery" or else "hooliganism." Dr. Fraser spells out the personal terror underlying such behavior which is subjugated to the gains of peer approval and the tacit approval of the grown-ups. He also examined the literature on the psychological fate of children and civilians in wartime. Some of his own findings match. A child with nervous parents is more likely to suffer longer-lasting symptoms. Acute symptoms occur more often in areas where there is an expectancy of terror rather than in the rioting district. However, it depends on one's orientation to psychological

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distress and how one sees long-lasting effects. Dr. Fraser does not address the psycho-analytic literature which abounds with evidence of childhood traumata having important dimensions for development into adulthood. One can argue that analysands form a "sick" population, but in an ordinary social sense these are often people who function normally enough. A person with such traumata often has a subtle need to perpetuate and re-experience elements of the original trauma in attempts at mastery, either as an active or passive participant, and often in domestic circumstances. Another alternative may be to develop later phobias, ego-constriction, rigidity, lack of intellectual and social confidence, or the generosity necessary to appreciate the dilemmas of others—a toll paid for heavily defending against such memories, and the internal effects of severe disruption in childhood and adolescence. However, I want to emphasize strongly Dr. Fraser's beautiful responsiveness and sensitive observation and recording, which makes this book live as a moral document of the present struggles. His ideas on desegregation of the schools from their Protestant and Catholic encampments are constructive and shared by others in Ulster. Desegregation is the logical educational recommendation for those who imaginatively can follow through the consequences of these chilling observations and insights. The children of Dr. Fraser's studies were at the center. But similar influences come to bear on those at the periphery.

Rona Fields's book contrasts with the others. The most valuable section is about the crippling psychological effects on internees interrogated by the British Army in the early seventies. Her interviews and tests show that these people were the objects of unconscionable brutality at the hands of the Army. The British have earned worldwide condemnation for these violations of human rights. Dr. Fields is obviously a woman of courage and has played an important role in objectifying the evidence. However, the rest of her book is chaotic and badly written. The subtitle, "A Psychology of Northern Ireland," is a misnomer. She did not do, in my opinion, what Dennis Clark says, "care to understand." In order to justify such a title she would have had to listen attentively to all representatives of the population, even those whom she does not admire or identify with. She uses her psychological findings to reinforce her own social thesis, i.e., that England pursues an active policy of colonialism which is synonymous with psychological genocide towards the Irish. It is overstated to equate the Irish of the 1970s with the plight of the Jews under the Nazi regime. The book deteriorates into a kind of popularized exposé of the purposive, evil-minded British. It is a pity that she falls into the very trap that befuddles the indigenous Northern Irish—that of simplifying the complexity to one perspective, till everything seems to make sense in those terms, which in her version, however sophisticated, seems to be "Hate the British Imperialists." Other versions of tunnel vision have been the following: "Hate the Fenians," "Hate the Prods," "Hate the Brits," "Hate the Hooligans," "Hate the Snobs," or "Hate the Working Class Scum."

Ulster has dropped from front-page American news. But it is still wracked with troubles. Trans-sectarian organizations like the Women's Peace Movement, mixed Catholic and Protestant Associations like "The New Ulster Movement," political parties as the Alliance Party or the Social Democratic and Labour Party need every breath of support they can draw from the democratic world lest they become jaded under the bombardment of irrationality and constant threat of renewed violence. Those in entrenched positions on either Catholic or Protestant side need to examine their arrogant carelessness for the quality of existence of their fellow human beings.

I quote from the greatest poet of the island heritage, W. B. Yeats:

Too long a sacrifice
Can make a stone of the heart.
O when may it suffice?

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The Thin Mountain Air

PAUL HORGAN

Farrar, Straus & Giroux, $8.95

ANNE FREMANTLE

Paul Horgan is a Protean figure, yet so modest that it is necessary to mention the diversity of his achievement. He has written over a dozen novels, over two dozen books. He is an accomplished painter, too, and his watercolors, some of which illustrated his *Lamy of Santa Fe*, have a Blakeian sense of light, and are Lear-like in their uncluttered economy of place. He has conducted a national orchestra, and was narrator for Stravinsky's *Oedipus Rex* at its first performance. He has also been much honored. His first published novel, *The Fault of Angels*, won the Harper Prize, and he has won the Pulitzer Prize twice: once, in 1954, for his *Great River, the Rio Grande* (which also won the Bancroft Prize for History) and for *Lamy of Sante Fe* in 1976. He has received twenty honorary doctorates, including one from Yale, and has been elected a member of the National Council of the Humanities and a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. For five years he was Director of the Center for Advanced Studies at Wesleyan University. During World War II he received the Legion of Merit.

Yet it may well be, that a hundred years hence, what will seem his most valid and valuable works will be the three "Richard" novels, a trilogy written, perhaps significantly, in the first person. These are accounts of three stages in one boy's growing up, partly in New York State, partly in the Southwest, the later venue of the third volume. In these three books he has recorded, brilliantly and lucidly, the "agony and ecstasy" of one young life in these United States during the first quarter of this century.

What, exactly, is his theme? Richard notes, in the very first paragraph of *Things as They Are* that: "the loss of innocence is a lifelong process—the wages of original sin." And the first pages describe Richard's deliberate drowning of a beloved kitten—his first conscious sin.

A second question to which all three novels address themselves is whether what you gain is worth what you lost? In all three novels the answer, described in a relentless sequence of events, is always perceived at the level of the perceiver, whether Richard is six, or seventeen, or twenty.

For example, Richard, going to school for the first time, is asked by the mother of the boy next door, John Burley, to accompany him. Richard remembers that John was a "good boy who never made trouble" and the two kids "owned the whole world all day long except for the nap after lunch." The school, run by Catholic nuns, was only a few blocks away. But when the boys reach it, and the teacher is introducing herself to the class, the other boys, aware that John is retarded, start chanting rude remarks. The Principal enters the classroom; John collapses, and is led off by the Principal, who summons Richard to mind John. Richard wants to go home, but the Principal has contacted John's mother, who asks that he stay till school is over. When John and Richard start home together, they are waylaid by five other boys who take John into a garage belonging to the rich parent of two of them, strip John and hose him down with cold water. Richard flees and fetches John's mother, who rescues him. But John dies of pneumonia as a result of his treatment.

Richard is sent for and given John's toys. But John's mother asks him, did he realize John was different from other boys? Richard says, "sometimes." Then John's mother tells him, "We wonder if perhaps it is not better that God took him." Richard tells her, "You never sent for the doctor." She asks, angrily: "Don't you believe we loved him?" To which Richard replies, "Did you have him die?" Richard, clutching John's power boat, escapes as John's mother lunges at him. But his parents wonder why John's parents never again spoke to them or to Richard. In a few months they went to "live in Florida for the rest of their lives." Richard has learned the power of truth. And Paul Horgan begins the next chapter with the comment: "All growth is the discovery of power—or powers."

In the second novel, *Everything to Live For*, Richard, now seventeen, goes to stay with some cousins who are immensely rich. Their only son, Max, is about to celebrate his twenty-first birthday at their annual mammoth Fourth of July party. Richard has never seen such splendor. Max's sports car, the swimming pool, tennis courts, glasshouses full of rare flowers are magnificent. As is Max, who has lovely manners and a lovely girl-friend, Marietta, daughter of the local doctor. She tells Richard the reason for Max's mother's disability—she has an artificial hand. When Max was a child at a rustic birthday party for him, Max, disguised as a scarecrow, carried a big rake. Dancing a square dance, he reached out to change partners and dance with his mother, hitting her hard with the rake. Later she developed a tumor, and in a two-hour operation while Max waited at the hospital and Marietta's father was in attendance, her hand was amputated.

Max's father could not cope, retiring into his library. Marietta knows that Max, who adores his mother, feels guilty. At the party, in the midst of the fireworks and crowd, Max drives Richard to an old quarry, now filled

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with water. Max swims, while Richard, afraid to, is also afraid Max will not return. But he does. The next night the night-blooming cereus in the hothouse flowers: the family and Marietta are gathered, but Max again disappears, this time alone. He drives his fancy sports car onto a railway crossing as the express arrives, and is killed. The night after the funeral Richard has his first sexual experience with Marietta, who next day dismisses him. He is shocked and anguished, having fallen in love. But she tells him: "We made love for Max as much as for each other last night. You will realize that later if you don't now." She has made him see he is a boy in his last year at school and she is, in effect, Max's widow.

Here the ache of growing up, of death and destruction, is mitigated by the basic goodness of all the protagonists. In the third volume, *The Thin Mountain Air*, Richard, who has been able to face the evil within himself as a child, meets evil all around. His father has been elected Lieutenant Governor of New York State. But the Governor is a crook, discovered and dishonored at book's end. Richard's father is found to have advanced tuberculosis. Richard opts to leave college and move with his parents to the Southwest, where the "mountain air" is recommended. Here he meets Don Elizario Menzel, an old, rich man, and his lovely young wife. Richard seems thin, pulled down: the local doctor, a friend of Don Elizario, arranges for Richard to be sent for six weeks to work on Magdalena, the Wenzel ranch, where the annual sheep dipping requires the hiring of extra hands. Richard finds himself sharing a bunk with Buz, a foul-mouthed, totally valueless human being who (of course) instantly determines to "make" Wenzel's wife. Buz and Richard borrow a car to visit the local town, where they share the favors of a waitress in a drunken orgy. Richard now knows he faces two ways: "one toward the inner self where my father still reigned; the other, toward a world of knowing which, good or evil, I must see for myself and judge and use."

The descriptions of working on the ranch, of the sheep dipping in the opaque, ill-smelling, yet necessary slime, day after day in the boiling sun, are superb. Buz, for the heck of it, tries to drown a sheep, forcing it under the poisonous dip, but not releasing it. Tom, the preacher-turned foreman, saves it, and tells Don Elizario to "fire the no-good runt." But instead, since Buz is needed to finish the dipping, Don Elizario ducks him in the slimy dip, then makes him apologize to Tom. Buz explains to Richard that he only apologized because he needed the money. A few days later, finding Don Elizario outside at night, Buz throws him backwards into the dip, where he drowns; Buz then goes to Don Elizario's house and violates his wife, who is a virgin. Since Buz's amulet is found in Don Elizario's dead hand, Buz is clearly guilty, and is eventually condemned to death, after trying to persuade Richard, who was guarding him, to let him go. Richard rejoins his family, where his father tells him before he died that he has had an affair for years with his wife's best friend. Now, Richard's mother (who suspected the affair all along) tells him, he is "grown up."

The third question then seems to be: what does that really mean? What has Richard learned? That, as Oscar Wilde said "each man kills the thing he loves"? That "we are born in other's pain, and perish in our own"? That "Even the weariest river, winds somewhere safe to sea"? Etcetera, etcetera. The poets have tags for it, doubtless. But whatever the answer is, the reader has learned to relive Richard's growing pains, and what it meant, some of the time, perhaps all of the time, to be young between 1905 and 1925 in a happy, loving family in the USA. And Richard's lovely, beloved mother has the last word: "Wouldn't it be wonderful not to have to make the best of things?"

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MICHAEL F. McCAULEY

Just thirty-two years ago, on April 9, Pastor Dietrich Bonhoeffer was hanged for high treason as a conspirator in a nearly successful attempt to assassinate the Führer. A quiet, scholarly man who from childhood had trained himself, physically and psychically, to think of God and nothing else, an academic man more at home debating theological niceties than hatching a plot to destroy Hitler and end the war, Bonhoeffer makes a curious conspirator, somewhat out of step with his fellows yet lending moral weight and conviction to the failed operation. In fact it was his pursuit of

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theology and its ecumenical implications that temporarily "exiled" him to New York City in 1939. Yet, he was hardly there when, as Eberhard Bethge relates, "he realized the truth. . . . The old priorities did not fit any longer. A debt accumulated for every German which had to be paid off." He returned to the Fatherland in solidarity with the guilt of his nation.

Bonhoeffer briefly considered resisting Hitler's war as a conscientious objector but rejected such a move as "an act of irrelevant self-fulfillment . . . a somewhat private act, a kind of egocentric flight from increased responsibility and guilt" (Bethge). Bonhoeffer's intimate friend and biographer, Eberhard Bethge, outlines Bonhoeffer's hesitant and prolonged shift from purely ecclesiastical resistance into political conspiracy.

During the years 1938-1939, before he attempted to, in Bethge's words, "evade his duties" by going to New York, Bonhoeffer became "an accessory to underground political activities," as a result of his access to conspiracy information transmitted by his brother-in-law Hans von Dohnanyi. Upon returning from the U.S., he assumed active involvement in the plot. His top priority now was not mere resistance or even agitation but almost exclusive concentration on eliminating Hitler and negotiating peace.

The execution in 1940 of an acquaintance who openly objected to military service jolted Bonhoeffer into the realization that though he shared the same convictions as his friend regarding the war and service in the military, he had moved in the opposite direction from heroic self-sacrifice. Bethge writes that such a sacrifice "may have appeared to [Bonhoeffer] under the existing circumstances as an admirable private action, but which entailed a refusal to share, in the name of Christ, what others in Germany had to take upon themselves." How could he present himself for martyrdom when his friends, his brothers and sisters were now risking their lives in political action? The irony in Bonhoeffer's rejection of martyrdom, of course, is that in the eyes of countless Christians he is a martyr, admittedly propelled by somewhat different motivation than the early Christians, but popularly acclaimed nonetheless.

That Bonhoeffer today shares the title "martyr" with the likes of Stephen and Tarcissus results from the temper of the times. Hitler's Germany had diabolically reversed all values and moral principles. Rules of conduct had been suspended; deception and camouflage carried the obligation of moral duty. "Treason" was true patriotism and what was normally patriotism became, from the objective view, actual treason no matter what its subjective cause. In his *Ethics*, Bonhoeffer concluded: "What is worse than doing evil is being evil. It is worse for a liar to tell the truth than for a lover of truth to lie."

In the end, when the statistics were exposed regarding the colossal waste of human life that directly resulted from the Third Reich, almost 2000 ordained Ministers of the Protestant church were killed in action in Hitler's war, if not actually fighting for it. Yet, as Bethge relates, with some shame and disappointment, "only 20 men serving the church were killed for the sake of the Gospel." Only 20 men ultimately refused to be content with easing their consciences. Only 20 men perceived their national responsibility and acted with moral courage and integrity.

But as facilely as we, with glib moral righteousness and the easy convictions of over 30 years hindsight, view Hitler's war as an outrage and Pastor Bonhoeffer's actions as more than justifiable, the conspiracy must be subjected to scrutiny. Bethge finds his friend in "the first rank of the conspirators," when one considers his actions from a political framework. Evaluating Bonhoeffer's involvement in the attempted assassination from an ecclesiastical framework underscores the moral muddle of war-torn Germany. "He is a unique case," judges Bethge. There was no precedent in the Lutheran church for what Bonhoeffer attempted. Yet, to question Bonhoeffer's involvement is, for Bethge, virtually heretical. "Even today," he chides, "it is embarrassing to feel that Christians consciously or subconsciously expect Bonhoeffer to justify his activities as a conspirator. Should it not be the other way round?"

It is understandable that Bonhoeffer's martyrdom is unique in Lutheranism. Protestants generally exclude martyrs preferring to accord higher esteem to theological textbooks than to biographies of great witnesses. Bonhoeffer himself speculated: "Perhaps we've made too much of this question of suffering, and been too solemn about it. . . . Perhaps [Roman Catholics] know better from their own history what suffering and martyrdom really are."

At one time, during the Reformation, both Protestants and Catholics honored their own martyrs—exemplary believers (often fiery personalities) burned or hanged by the opposition. As Reformation/Counter-Reformation militancy burned itself out, Protestants and Catholics actually competed with each other in the mission-field for the

REVIEWERS

ROSEMARY H. BALSAM, a staff psychiatrist of the Yale Student Health Services, received her medical degree in Ireland before emigrating to the United States ten years ago.

ANNE FREMANTLE's latest book is *Woman's Way to God* (St. Martin's Press).

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honor of a martyr's death at the hands of the heathen. Now, however, martyrdom is seldom the outcome of bearing testimony to Jesus's name in a primitive, hostile world. Now, martyrdom is most often the result of witnessing on behalf of a threatened "humanum," as Bethge designates it—"sacrifice for the sake of humanity." Thus, Simone Weil —that gentle soul who died affirming her solidarity with outcasts—as well as Jesuit Alfred Delp and Dietrich Bonhoeffer all carry the martyr's palm.

Yet, such a noble and, on the surface, altruistic interpretation of Bonhoeffer's situation has not gone unchallenged; Lutheran Bishop Meiser absolutely refused to attend a remembrance service for Bonhoeffer because, he said, "Bonhoeffer was only a political martyr and not a Christian martyr." One wonders: would Bonhoeffer's name still evoke the sympathy and reverence of Lutherans, Anglicans, Roman Catholics—Christians of whatever denominational stripe—had the ill-fated assassination actually gone off as planned? Would the world today honor Bonhoeffer and his co-conspirators as Germany's liberators, as avenging angels meting out the Lord's vengeance? The question is purely academic; Hitler's accidental survival—at the last minute an aide somewhat carelessly kicked the bomb-rigged case under a heavy oak table which shielded the Führer from the concussion—and Bonhoeffer's (as well as others) execution are indisputable history, never again, we pray, to be relived. The actual facts serve to further underscore the topsy-turvy morality of World War II.

All these musings are compellingly portrayed in Donald Goddard's *Last Days of Dietrich Bonhoeffer*. Goddard develops in the manner of a novelist Bonhoeffer's transformation from a proud, privileged, well-connected, aloofly intellectual seminary professor and prominent theologian to a stripped-down human being whose perception of Jesus as the man for others has powerfully redirected a whole generation of Christians. Of necessity, Goddard indulges in what is now called, thanks to Alex Haley's *Roots*, "faction" —a reconstruction which takes liberties in fleshing out the bare bones of what is known, inventing, as the dust jacket puts it, "the substance (though not the fact) of his interrogations, as well as conversation, incident and even some minor characters in the story." Haley may have aroused a few historians with this technique: Goddard should agitate none—least of all Eberhard Bethge, to whom a "heavy debt" is gratefully, if reverentially, acknowledged in the intro.

From Goddard we learn that Bonhoeffer, faced with the prospect of arrest, had "no ethical objection to killing himself. . . . The objection to suicide was practical, not ethical." He rejected suicide largely because it might have been interpreted as a sign of his guilt and ultimately would have implicated his brother-in-law. Once in prison, several personae emerged: one communicated by his carefully scrutinized letters to his parents; one which he maintained in front of his interrogators; another for his fellow prisoners. All meshed, but never converged to present contradiction to the questioners or give them ammunition to discredit his testimony. Surprisingly, he was not directly interrogated about the conspiracy; plans proceeded apace without him, undetected by the Gestapo.

Of course, as in *Day of the Jackal*, the outcome of both the assassination attempt and Bonhoeffer's incarceration is known, the plot and suspense muted. But Goddard preserves the drama; he successfully sustains the tension, building up to the actual attempt on Hitler's life so that until Hitler staggers from the room, shaken but obviously alive, there is a possibility that the assassination plot might succeed. Goddard has recreated Bonhoeffer's eighteen month imprisonment in a way that challenges the nearly 20-year-old legend of the saintly scholar brutalized by the Gestapo. Goddard's Bonhoeffer, perhaps less saintly than the legend, is nevertheless clearly involved in questionable doings.

It is up to Eberhard Bethge to explain the theological justification for Bonhoeffer's life and death. This he does, in part, in his brief volume, having already written the definitive biography of his friend and teacher. Additionally, Bethge applies Bonhoeffer's theology to, among other countries, Soviet-dominated Poland, where Roman Catholics appreciate Bonhoeffer because he has "dared to anticipate in thought our problem of how to meet Christ in a religionless world." Bethge's development of Bonhoeffer's ideas with regard to the South African churches is pointed and stimulating. Apartheid as the new Nazism has yet to be fully appreciated. Bethge preaches rather more than Goddard, which is not necessarily a fault, just a noticeable difference. I would suggest that you read Goddard first for the drama, then Bethge for his theological applications follow-up. The two volumes make the most impact when taken in this order.

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IN BRIEF

GOOD NEIGHBORHOODS: *The Challenge of Open Housing, by Morris Milgram, Norton, $10.95.*

Morris Milgram is an idealist who has put his money where his mouth is. For a quarter century, Milgram has been one of the few real estate developers in the country committed to the construction of racially integrated housing. Convinced that such housing was "morally good" as well as potentially profitable, he built a

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number of successful multi-racial city and suburban developments.

In this book, Milgram examines the obstacles similarly-committed developers and community groups face, and suggests how they can be overcome. Careful planning, he says, can triumph over zoning restrictions, bigoted real estate brokers and non-infrequent government opposition. Savvy builders, he believes, can attract and keep a racially diverse population by shrewd site selection, good construction, ample amenities and "affirmative marketing." Initially, Milgram sought to assure an interracial occupancy by setting quotas, but eventually he shifted to "affirmative marketing"—doing a good selling job.

While a number of younger, more progressive builders have emerged, Milgram says "the average American developer, despite the law, is trying to keep minorities in his communities as close to zero as possible." This has contributed to the growth of largely white suburbs and predominantly minority inner-city neighborhoods. "It is an unending vicious circle that can be broken only by drastic action designed to halt urban decay and racial isolation," Milgram says.

It is difficult to disagree with Milgram's sentiments—and many of his prescriptions. This book, however, reads too much like a housing manual; livening up its style would have helped. A more important fault lies in its substance. Milgram's experience is largely with new construction, especially suburban. In discussing inner-city revival, he holds up the Cedar-Riverside "new-town-in-town" in Minneapolis as a possible ideal, then admits that its high-rise density has brought vigorous criticism from community groups and environmentalists. Milgram fails to emphasize what sort of community activists consider the major housing need in American cities—rehabilitation.

Rehabilitation may not integrate neighborhoods quickly—in any case, integration does not seem to be a major priority for black or white activists at this point—but probably nothing will. At least rehabilitation can halt deterioration, preserve viable neighborhoods and create a basis for possible integration in the future.

PETER FREIBERG

CORRESPONDENCE

(*Continued from page 101*)

Dan propounded a principle that should be engraved in the heart of every professional church person—as well as, and especially all aspirants—and tried to move us deeper than the level of our controversies—to the feelings that escape the reconciling claim of Jesus Christ.

It seems to be among those feelings that idols are raised up, that the easy "virtues" of normality and conformity are emboldened to demand reward and sovereignty, that the believers' freedom and oneness in God are turned against "the others" to become new slaveries and divisions.

Dan's reminders and insights are needed by us all. Not only by those like me, who find ourselves with John McNeill at one end of the curve of human sexuality. Anyone who has pitched a tent with *any* movement for reform and renewal in the church should see the relevance of (and welcome gratefully) Dan's counsel. This temporally schizoid church of ours likes nothing better than to lay some heavy guilt on those who ask it to be true.

(REV.) ROBERT W. HOVDA

Quo Vadis?

Poughkeepsie, N.Y.

To the Editors: re James V. Schall, "On Leaving Rome" [Nov. 25].

How I wish I could join Father Schall in his Truth, Nostalgia, and Reality that equals Rome and—after 25 years of thinking about it and living with it—say "yes" and just simply live.

Somewhere there is a flaw, a defect, in that beautiful (Schall twice notices the failure to achieve perfect beauty) picture. There is some actuality that Rome does not take in. For instance: Why did two such smart men as Lenin and Trotsky turn to Marxism? Why did Marx turn to Marxism? Why if Rome is the real world has that fact been invisible for nearly two hundred years?

I suggest that there is a connection between the painful strained efforts of theologians to reach out to the future without letting go the past—to find a new base for theological truth and still hold to the historic Catholic truths and teachings.

Something has happened to God.

JOHN CLARK

Commonweal welcomes letters on subjects treated in its pages. Letters of not more than 250 or 300 words naturally have a better chance of being published.

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African Institute

African Institute. For Christians preparing to serve in Africa and those on furlough, 12 June- 7 July 1978. Information: Dr. Peter Walshe, African Studies, University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, Indiana 46556.

Married Priests

CORPUS—National Association Resigned/Married priests and friends—Box 2649, Chicago 60690.

Quarterly Newsletter

The Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee publishes the quarterly, "Religious Socialism," edited by John C. Cort. Subscriptions: $2 per year. Address: 1 Maolis Road, Nahant, Mass. 01908.

Non-Violence in America

THE POWER OF THE PEOPLE, by Robert Cooney and Helen Michalowski, reviewed in the January 6 "Commonweal" is now available in paperback at $7.95. Both the new paperback and the $15 hardcover edition are published by Peace Press Inc., 3828 Willet Avenue, Culver City, Calif. 90230.

New Adult School

A night school near Durban, South Africa, has opened in an old school building much in need of repair. It will teach carpentry, brick-laying and academic subjects to adults whom poverty forced to leave school at an early age. Funds for this greatly needed project should be sent to: Archbishop Denis E. Hurley, P.O. Box 2164, Durban, Natal, South Africa (Airmail 31c).

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